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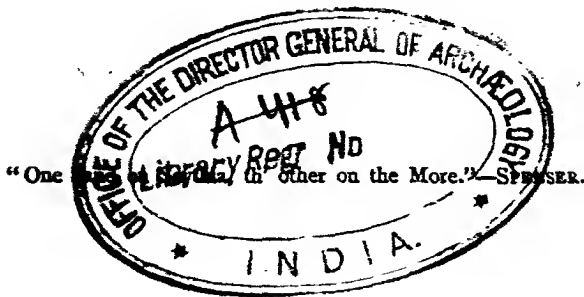
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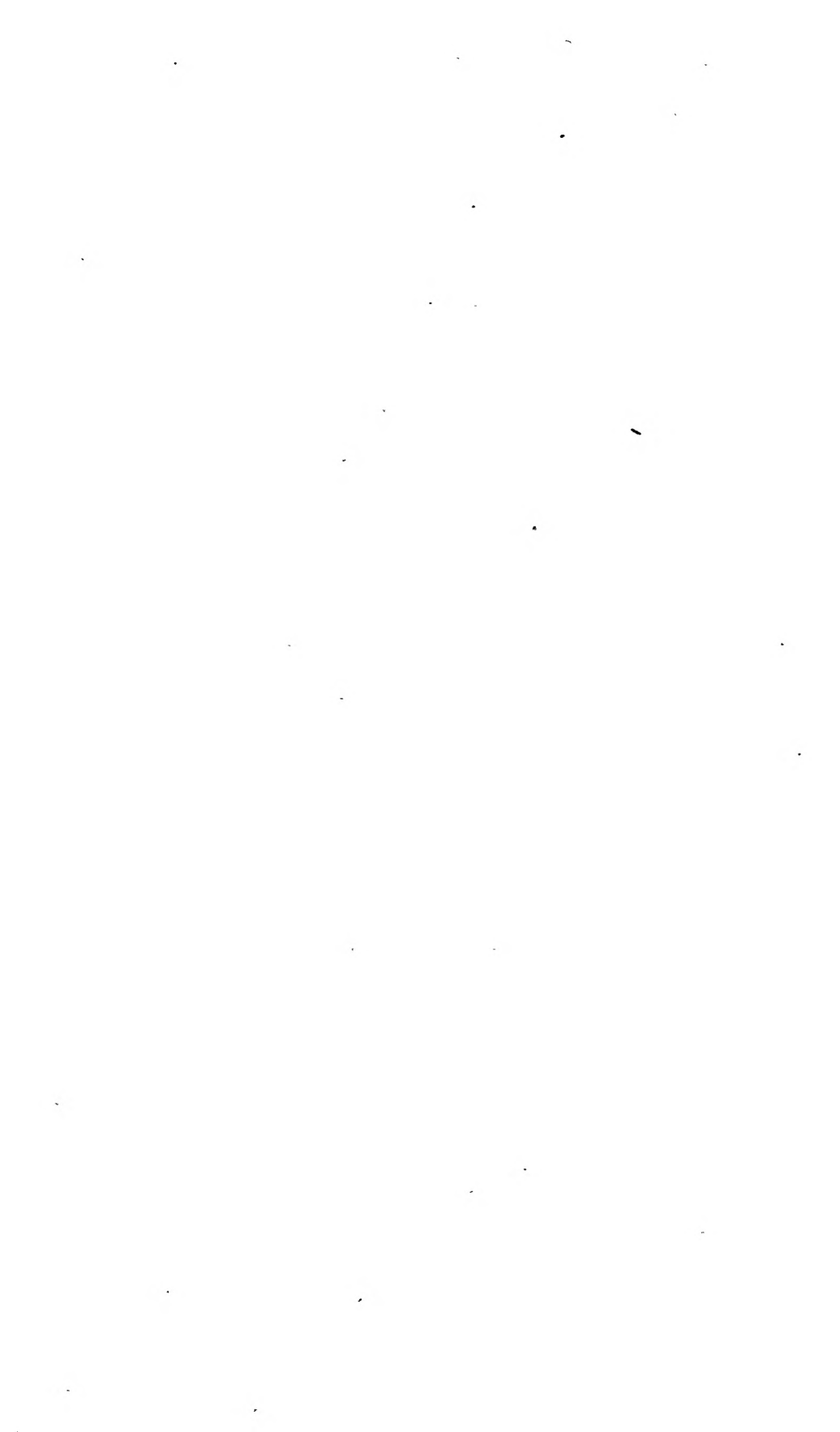
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE NEXT PHASE OF THE AFGHAN QUESTION. By Demetrius Boulger	I
THE NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA: By Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., C.B.	17
INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND OUR WHEAT SUPPLY. By W. S. Seton-Karr	45
THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY. By Moulvi Abd-ur-rashid	63
INDIA SIXTY YEARS AGO. By J. Talboys Wheeler	102
THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA. Part I. Voyage to India in 1829. Edited by Edward Salmon	126
THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NATIVE STATES OF CENTRAL INDIA. By F. Loraine Petre	156
THE INDIAN COUNCIL. By W. G. Pedder, C.S.I.	177
SOCIAL INTERCOURSE IN INDIA. By Carr Stephen	192
SOME LETTERS FROM GENERAL GORDON	200
A PAGE OF AFGHAN HISTORY. By Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.	241
EFFECTS OF CIVILIZATION ON THE BURMESE. By Major-General MacMahon	270
CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM	299
THE SHAN STATES. By Captain A. C. Yate	309
ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. By H. F. Harrison Smith, R.N.	327
THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA. Part II. Calcutta to Patna. Edited by Edward Salmon	343
MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA. By J. D. Rees	374
CONCERNING SOME LITTLE KNOWN TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST. Part II. By Colonel Yule, C.B.	382
NATIONAL CONGRESS IN INDIA. By Umã Sankar Misra	399
IS INDIA LOYAL? By Carr Stephen	410
THE MAHRATTA PLOUGH. By Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	417
SUMMARY OF EVENTS	220, 473
REVIEWS	235, 477



THE
OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1888.

THE NEXT PHASE OF THE AFGHAN QUESTION.

ALTHOUGH the convention defining the Russo-Afghan frontier is little more than six months old, indications are already abundant that it has neither solved the Central Asian problem nor afforded reason to the English Government in India and at home to believe that it can lay aside its vigilance with regard to Russia's movements, or feign indifference upon the subject of the internal condition of Afghanistan. Those who were most sceptical of the value of the negotiation with Russia were still the first to admit that after the Penjdeh incident, and the surrender of all our principles in the refusal of our Government to support Sir Peter Lumsden's original definition of what may be called the true and politic Afghan boundary, we could expect nothing beyond a formal and definite ending to the negotiations, coupled with the condition that there should be no material surrender of any more of the Ameer's rights. This was attained as nearly as possible by Sir West Ridgeway's arrangement at St. Petersburg last summer. As our Government were not prepared to fight for villages on the Murghab or even the Oxus, it followed of necessity that

the Russians might apply a pressure which would have been dangerous to peace had it related to places better known, and perhaps less important, to the English democracy, and that they could nearly always carry their views by the mere display of stronger resolution. Allowing for the initial defeat, which was far greater than the mere loss of Penjdeh in that a principle was sacrificed when we sanctioned an ethnographical frontier being substituted for a natural boundary, and its inevitable consequences the conclusion of the negotiation on such reasonable and honourable terms as were finally embodied in the Protocol relating to Kham-i-ab, was some testimony to our diplomacy and to the firmness, or reputation for firmness, of Lord Salisbury's Government. But events are now compelling us to leave the region of complacency and to prepare for the contingencies of a future which is already darkening with uncertainty and portents of an approaching change, both with regard to the internal politics of Afghanistan, and also as to Russia's views of the facility with which an attack may be made on India, and as to whether her greatly improved position in Central Asia does not afford the strongest reason for precipitating events in the outlying provinces of the Ameer, and thus obtaining possession of places nearer to India than the present bases of operations in the Turcoman and Bokharan territories.

It will be well to mention in the first place the events to which reference has been made as shaking one's belief in the durability of the agreeable *status quo*, which makes Afghanistan, under its able and energetic ruler Abdurrahman, an effective buffer state between India and Russia. There is, in the first place, the extraordinarily rapid completion of the Central Asian railway, which will enable Russia to concentrate her Turkestan army as well as her Caucasian on the Oxus or at Merv. Whether the objective be Herat or Cabul itself, she can employ the whole of her military strength in Asia. The second fact relates to Persia, where a revival of English energy, diplomatic and commercial, has induced Russia to show her hand more clearly than she

has done for fifty years, and thus to revive the rumours of an imminent detachment of Khorasan from the Shah's dominions. The third fact bearing on the question is the continued uncertainty of the established *régime* at Cabul, which seems to be identified with the life of the Ameer. The intrinsic importance of these three facts is immensely increased by the acute stage to which the Eastern Question seems now to be approaching. Bearing these points in mind, an attempt may be made to indicate briefly the course in which events are tending, and to give expression to one or two of what seem not unnecessary warnings.

The mere fact that the Turkestan garrison, which, with the military colonies attached to it, is not less than 70,000 strong, has been brought into as many days' communication of the Empire as it used to be months, is calculated to inspire the Russian authorities with confidence, and to strengthen the desire to convert into practice many old and favourite schemes which most persons thought would never advance beyond the theoretical. It is now clear that Russia could in a very few weeks despatch a force of 50,000 men to the Oxus or Herat. To appreciate the immense stride Russia has made in the last ten years, it need only be recalled that in 1878, on the eve of the Afghan war, General Kaufmann was able to collect no more than 10,000 men at Jam, south of Samarcand, and that on the side of the Caspian the Turcomans, defiant and unsubdued, barred the road to Western Afghanistan. At that time, however anxious General Kaufmann may have been to render material assistance to Shere Ali, he did not possess the means of giving effect to his wishes, and any effective military action on the part of Russia in Afghanistan was practically out of the question. All this is now completely changed. Neither the Turcomans nor Bokhara think for the moment of any other policy than of carrying out the orders of the Czar, and the Turkestan garrison combined with the army of the Caucasus provides the ready means of conducting operations on a large scale. The railway

across Central Asia has accomplished this, and it will also enable General Skobeleff's plan to be carried out of storing provisions and *matériel* before war is declared at the most convenient places for the base of the army that is to operate beyond the frontier.

The marked difference between the military position of Russia in Central Asia at the present time and what it was ten years ago, when the Russian menace to India first assumed tangible shape, is revealed in the undoubted facility with which the Czar could employ his armies on an expedition into Afghanistan, and could keep them supplied with provisions and military stores, as well as with reinforcements, by means of the railway now connecting Samarcand and the Caspian. To complete the advantages derived from this line, it is proposed to continue it to Tashkent and Semiretchia.

Russia's action in Central Asia is no longer hampered by a doubt as to her ability to act with energy and effect within the northern and north-western borders of Afghanistan. If England and Russia were to be embroiled in war to-morrow, there is no question that the Russian generals in Asia would be ordered to create a diversion on the side of India. This could only be effected by an attack on Herat or Balkh, probably the latter. However much we might resent the act, and whatever steps we took to retrieve the loss, it is certain that we could not prevent the capture of Balkh, and, with it, the severance of Afghan Turkestan from the Ameer's kingdom. Even in the case of Herat, our ability to save that town would entirely depend on the valour and fidelity of the Afghan garrison. The manner in which the Russian Government would endeavour to neutralize our military operations in Europe by a threatening demonstration in the direction of India is far from being vague or indefinite. Unfortunately it is also clear that Russia has now the power and the means of putting that demonstration in force in such an effective manner that it must seriously injure our allies the Afghans and their ruler,

considerably damage our prestige and entail upon us an exceptionally great effort, if Russia's temporary advantage were not to be converted into a permanent gain. Everybody realizes that the frontier so laboriously created for Afghanistan between the Heri Rud and the Oxus is only valid while there is peace. The outbreak of war would see it speedily violated and destroyed.

Even while peace is maintained, Russia may think it possible to undermine this barrier, and to weaken or remove such obstacles as threaten to bar or embarrass her onward progress after the mask has been thrown aside and hostilities openly commenced. The incident of the Salor Turcoman raid the other day, carefully as it has been hushed up and minimized, shows that the Russian officials are alive to the advantages to be gained from maintaining a belief generally that the new Afghan frontier is no more than the old free from the presence of disturbing elements. There is no doubt, on the one hand, that the Ameer has instructed his officers to watch the frontier closely, and to maintain the strict letter of his rights. On the other, it is affectation to suppose that the Turcomans have lost so soon all their marauding propensities, or that the necessity of seeking fresh pastures will not now and again induce them to cross from Russian territory into Afghan. Border collisions are consequently inevitable, and policy as much as accident may make them frequent. The Penjdeh incident is one that can, if required, be easily repeated on occasion at any convenient point from Zulfikar to Kham-i-Ab.

The Russians have other material to work with than the Turcomans. The Jamshidi and Char Aimak clans of the Herat and neighbouring valleys do not seem as much attached to Afghan rule as our interests require, and there have already been disturbances among them, partly in defiance of the Ameer's tax-gatherer, partly in resentment at his closer supervision. The assistance which these tribes could render an invading force would be simply invaluable, while their opposition could not fail to embarrass its move-

ments. Their importance does not, in the first place, consist so much in their fighting power as in their command of supplies, forage, and horses. An unpopular governor of Herat suffices to alienate the loose allegiance they owe to the Ameer, and we must henceforth count upon the presence among them of Russian emissaries instructed to sow dissension, accentuate grievances, and stimulate ambitious longings. While the frontier is still being held in formal respect, Russia will leave no stone unturned to increase her reputation on the Afghan side of it, and to diminish, so far as she possibly can, the Ameer's authority. The very measures which, in the first place, Abdurrahman will take to counteract these manœuvres, must tend to assist Russia's designs, for the more vigorous assertion of his personal authority must embitter his relations with the clans in the west, as it has in the east with the Ghilzais and Shinwarris.

While we cannot reasonably anticipate any lengthy tranquillity on the just delimited north-west frontier of Afghanistan, it is also becoming more evident that we cannot trust much longer to the maintenance of even the hollow relations of cordiality with Persia, which exist at present on the surface ; and this is the more significant because our Foreign Office has, during the last twelve months, undoubtedly awoken to the political value of Persia with regard to the Central Asian question, and because efforts have been made to re-establish our influence at Teheran. Those efforts, if courageously sustained and supported at the right moment by vigorous action, may eventually attain success ; but for the present they have failed, and provoked the disgrace of not merely the ablest prince in Persia, but also of the only man in that State who is either willing or able to carry out a policy based on an alliance with England. The name of Prince Zil es Sultan has been several times mentioned in the pages of this REVIEW, and when the English Government selected him for special honour at Christmas by conferring upon him the Grand Cross of the Star of India, it

looked as if we had realized his ability and commanding position in the State, as well as his personal attachment to the side of this country.

The gift proved an unfortunate one for its recipient. Three months after the publication of the notice in *The London Gazette*, Prince Zil es Sultan was summarily dismissed from the governorship of Ispahan, and recalled to Teheran, where he remains in disgrace. It is not to be doubted for one moment, no matter what official statements may be made to the contrary, that his fall was brought about by the representations of the Russian minister at Teheran. Now that it has been made evident that the influence of our Government was not sufficient to maintain him in his position as governor of the second city in the kingdom, it must be recognized that there is little chance of the Shah restoring him on our initiative, especially as Nasreddin is jealous of the ablest of his sons, and sees in him a formidable rival to his own schemes affecting the succession to the throne. The whirligig of time must bring many changes before Prince Zil es Sultan will be in a position to render us the good service he could have done so long as he remained in a semi-independent position at Ispahan.

The incident relating to this prince is rather the indication of the close relations between Russia and the Persian Court, than the main result of the alliance connecting the two Governments. It has afforded a very striking testimony to the superior influence of the Russian minister at Teheran over ours, and, in face of it, it is impossible to hope that we can have better success when it becomes a question of the military occupation of towns in Khorasan such as Meshed. There are those who confidently assert that there exists a treaty by which Russia is to acquire possession of Khorasan whenever she may deem it necessary to occupy that province, and there is nothing improbable in the allegation. If it is suggested that Persia is not likely to willingly resign her best province, the point may be suggested for consideration whether she feels able, under any

circumstances, to prevent such a contingency. It must also be borne in mind that Russia may have offered a tempting equivalent in the direction of Bagdad at the expense of Turkey, or in Seistan at that of Afghanistan.

We can therefore anticipate from the relations between Russia and Persia as little positive assurance of tranquillity as from the spasmodic and little-controlled movements of the tribes on the Afghan frontier. Fifty years ago, when Russia was a little Power in Asia, when her nearest outpost to India was 1,500 miles distant from the English frontier, her influence sufficed to commit Persia to an enterprise, unsuccessful though it proved, against Herat. Now that her outposts overlap those of both Persia and Afghanistan, and that her frontier is brought to within five hundred miles on one side and three hundred on the other of ours, it would be childish to imagine that any proposal for a joint attack on Herat would meet with strenuous opposition, or appear on the face of it unfeasible in the circles of the Persian Court. If English representations failed in 1837, and again in 1856, what chance have they in 1888? The Shah showed unexpected and courteous complaisance in the matter of Ayooob Khan's surrender (it may be doubted whether the acquisition of another Afghan pretender was not dearly purchased by the disgrace and ruin of Prince Zil es Sultan), but the amenities of diplomacy will not blind him to the realities of his position, and they urge him to throw in his lot with the Czar, and to participate in the old Persian designs upon the fairest and most famous town of Khorasan.

The friendly demeanour and action of the Shah's Government in the questions relating to Jask and the Karun Valley afford no criterion of the course that it will pursue in the far more serious matters relating to the northern provinces, where a naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf counts for little or nothing. Even the temporary loss of the southern provinces, which could not be permanently held with any advantage to this country, would not suffice to break up an offensive-defensive alliance between Russia and Persia; and

if this view be sound, there can be no doubt that the old, and perhaps the only, way of coercing the Teheran Court is no longer available to us. Whenever Russia seriously moves the Shah's Government to take a decided step, such as was done the other day in the case of Prince Zil es Sultan, and such as is sure to be done sooner or later with regard to Herat, our diplomacy will be powerless to prevent Persia committing herself openly and irrevocably to the side of the Northern Power. Any retaliatory measures that we may adopt in the Persian Gulf will only increase her opposition, and perhaps arouse a deeper feeling of hostility than would naturally exist. If Prince Zil es Sultan were in power at Ispahan when the crisis arrived, it would be in our power to put forward and support this prince as ruler in Southern Persia, and as the ablest representative of his family and race; but of that chance Russia has been careful to deprive us in good time.

There will be many to say that, even if these pessimist views be accepted, it remains very doubtful how far Persia has the power to be helpful to Russia and injurious to ourselves. But the most cursory consideration of the fact that an army operating against Herat would be largely dependent for its supplies on what it could draw from Khorasan through Meshed, will show that the feasibility of a campaign on the Heri Rud for Russia depends mainly on the co-operation of Persia. Persian troops would also be not altogether useless as economizing the Czar's soldiers, and Persian pretensions, above all, would rally to the side of Russia the large Persian faction which has always been found at Herat. The uses of Persia to Russia are obvious, and it cannot be doubted that Persia's opposition would as greatly retard and embarrass Russia's operations as her aid must facilitate them. There seems no practical way of bringing that opposition into effect.

If the action of Russia and the ascendancy of that Power in Persia are calculated to precipitate events in Central Asia, and to lead us to anticipate that the present

tranquil phase of the Afghan question will be soon superseded by one more disturbed and critical, the internal condition of Afghanistan and the slight basis of national solidity upon which the Ameer has built up his personal authority furnish still more potent reasons for anxiety and misgiving. It is true that so long as the Ameer Abdurrahman lives, all that personal ability and the reputation gained by the successes of eight years of vigorous rule can accomplish towards representing the will of the Afghan race as that of a united and homogeneous nation, will be done ; but, although we have heard less of his maladies lately than we used to do, there is no doubt that his life is far from being a good one, and that uncertainty as to the length of his reign must be faced as one of the principal factors in the future situation. It would, notwithstanding, have a show of reason to retain confidence in the future tranquillity of Afghanistan if we could convince ourselves that the Ameer only requires a sufficient lease of life to hand down to his successors a settled and united kingdom. But on this point it is impossible to feel sanguine, even if he attained the venerable age of his grandfather, Dost Mahomed ; for the disintegrating causes in Afghanistan are permanent, and the appearance of an Ameer with supreme ability is accidental.

We have to be thankful for the fact that the ruler whom Sir Lepel Griffin placed upon the throne of Cabul in August, 1880, has proved himself to be worthy of the trust we then reposed in him ; but it is deeply essential that we should realize the true situation of affairs, and the balance of political power in that country, apart from the individual success of the ruler. It is becoming painfully clear that neither of his elder sons can prove a worthy successor to him, and very many years must pass away before those who are now infants will have grown up sufficiently to justify any expectations from their personal character and capacity. Under these circumstances the question must become one of increasing importance : Who is likely to be his suc-

cessor? and there seems no middle selection between his cousin Ishak and his rival, and cousin also, Ayooob. Of Ishak * we know enough to say that he certainly does not possess the requisite ability and force of character to occupy the seat and continue the work of Abdurrahman; and with regard to Ayooob, whose capacity is probably considerable, two things are clear. In the first place, he would feel bound to rely mainly on the much weakened Shere Ali faction, and to change Abdurrahman's severe bureaucracy, based on his own autocracy, into the old slovenly rule of the Ameers as mere chiefs in an Afghan tribal confederacy. In the second place, his appearance on the scene would inevitably throw Ishak into the arms of Russia, and convert, by the voluntary allegiance of its head, Afghan Turkestan into a dependency of the Czar.

The authority of Abdurrahman rests, in the first place, on the well-trained and well-affected, because regularly paid, military force which he has brought together under his standard; and in the second, on the vigour and success with which he has overcome all his opponents, and put down sedition on the first symptom of disaffection. Behind these personal causes lie the pecuniary support of the Government of India, and the guarantee of co-operation we have given in maintaining the integrity of Afghanistan against external attack. The problem of the future can best be solved by inquiring, and as far as possible ascertaining, which of the four conditions that now ensure the political independence and strength of Afghanistan are permanent, and can be counted upon to exist when it possesses a different ruler to Abdurrahman. Is it a natural or permanent condition that there should be in Afghanistan a disciplined and well-equipped force independent of the old tribal system, and obeying only the commands of the ruler? Abdurrahman is the first Afghan ruler to have tried the experiment and made it a success. Are rulers of Abdur-

* For an account of Ishak, see an article on Afghan Politics in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1886.

rahman's capacity and energy a common product in any country, or the usual inheritance of the Afghan nation? The reader can supply the answer for himself. The third condition may be permanent, for the English Government and people have never been chary of their money, even if they did not get its value; but with regard to the fourth, who is there supposes that the English constituencies would support a Government in making the possession of Balkh or Maimena or Faizabad a *casus belli* if the Ameer did not possess as ample and unquestioned authority over his lieutenants in those places as Abdurrahman now does?

Only the least important of the four conditions upon which the present tranquillity of Afghanistan, and our policy in that country during the last eight years, are based, can be regarded as in any true sense of the word enduring. If Ayoob Khan were called upon to assume the supreme authority on the decease of the present Ameer, he would certainly not adopt the same mode of administering the affairs of his country as did Abdurrahman, who learnt in the hard school of adversity how necessary it was to attend to the personal details of government, and to stamp upon his officials the impress of his individual will. Under Ayoob affairs might be expected to lapse into their old slovenly manner, and instead of asserting his own personal power in the remote valleys of Afghanistan as well as in the towns, he would be content with the nominal allegiance of the tribal khans. Such a dispensation of authority may appear sufficient to those who believe that, in accordance with the old saw,* the Afghans can never be conquered; but to those who feel convinced that with the aid of railways and in pursuance of a determined policy, the task would be one of no extraordinary difficulty for a European people and Government, it does not present the same

* An Afghan chief said to the late Lord Lawrence, "We are content with alarms, with war, with blood, but we never shall be content with a master."

guarantee of stability as the well-ordered and imposing *régime* of the present sovereign.

A still more fatal objection lies in the fact that Ayoob's power would be inevitably limited by the Hindoo Koosh. It is very likely true that Ishak Khan bears the Russians little love, but when he saw a rival established at Cabul he would have no choice but to come to terms as promptly as possible with his powerful neighbours, whose support would be essential for the maintenance of his position. Whether he did so or not, the Russians would not be slow to declare that the mere putting forward of Ayoob showed that the kingdom of Afghanistan as understood in the treaties had become disintegrated, that there was an end to the old conventions, and that in the interests of the two Empires and of peace, a new arrangement should be struck up, based this time on geographical facts, and not on ethnographical or political ideas. It sounds prettier at the present time to say that England would resent such a breach of the formal agreements concluded in London and St. Petersburg; but who seriously believes that, if the central power in Afghanistan were broken, even for a month, England would expect from Russia the literal fulfilment of her verbal pledges? In my own humble opinion, I believe that the only chance of stirring up public sentiment would lie in the Afghan garrison making a valiant and stubborn defence of the city of Herat. In short, if the people of this country will not fight for the exclusion of Russia from that city, I do not think that there is any place from one end of Afghanistan to the other the loss of which will stir them to that feeling of indignation and national resentment that alone enable an English Government to carry on a popular war.

In the event of the Ameer's death, it is clear that the dismemberment of Afghanistan necessarily follows, but it is also clear that dismemberment must entail its division between the two great Empires, and that however timid our action may be, we shall be compelled to advance on the one side to Cabul, and on the other to Candahar. It is not

necessary to urge that matters will at once reach this advanced stage, and there will necessarily be an intervening period, short or long as the case may be, during which Russia will attempt to rule Afghan Turkestan through Ishak, and England Cabul and Candahar by means of Ayoob or some other member of the Barukzai family. But that such an arrangement can represent a permanent settlement of the Afghan question is not to be supposed for one moment, and the first appearance of Russian troops in the plain of Balkh would speedily be followed by the advance of our troops up to the southern passes of the Hindoo Koosh. The only alternative to that course would be that our *protégé* at Cabul, seeing us too weak to help him, would throw himself upon the protection of Russia. The surviving representatives of the school of masterly inactivity will on principle face that position with equanimity, but our experience and geographical and political discoveries of the last ten years are all against the wisdom of such an apathetic policy.

So far I have mainly written on the supposition that affairs will go quietly in Afghanistan until the Ameer "shuffles off this mortal coil." But it would be very ill-judged on our part to assume that Russia will await the arrival of that event before she takes any further measures for the realization of her own plans in Afghanistan. The Ameer Abdurrahman might live for another twenty years, but we cannot hope that Russia will continue respecting the frontier for that or any other indefinite period. It has already been seen with what ease Russia can create a disturbance among the unsettled inhabitants of the common border, and there would be no difficulty in giving to that disturbance the aspect of a breach of faith on the part of the Afghans, or of the Ameer's inability to curb his own subjects. Such an anticipation may at this moment appear a little far-fetched; but whenever the Eastern Question is re-opened, we may anticipate with some confidence that one of Russia's earliest steps will be to foment disturbances on the Afghan frontier,

and expose what a hollow barrier it is that we have created. When such a contingency has to be faced, we must hope that the unity of Afghanistan will be a solid and patent fact, and that its dismemberment will not have begun. We shall then be able to convince our countrymen that Russia's action against Afghanistan constitutes an unprovoked aggression, and cannot be regarded as merely putting forward a plausible claim to participate in the spoil after the inevitable break-up of that kingdom.

The Government of India cannot afford to rest upon its laurels over the frontier negotiations, and to think that the steady continuation of the railway from the Pisheen Valley in the direction of Candahar is a sufficient reply to the completion of the Central Asian Railway and to the other movements of Russia on the Oxus and the Murghab. We are bound to prepare in good time for the next phrase of the Afghan Question, which, whether it occurs in the life of Abdurrahman or not, must be heralded by Russian encroachments at either Balkh or Herat. So far as can be judged no preparations are being made for this contingency except the costly and laborious tunnelling of the Khoja Amran range, which, at the most favourable computation, will not be finished for two years. Professor Vambéry has come forward with a suggestion that an English officer should be stationed at Herat, and the objections that have been raised to the learned Professor's suggestion are based on the broad assumption that the more closely we adhere to a policy confining our presence to the Indian side of Afghanistan the better will it be for our interests. I will only say, without entering on controversial matters, that this pious opinion is not in harmony with the action of the Liberal Governments of the last five years.

Professor Vambéry may be thought unintentionally to disparage the usefulness of our agent at Meshed, General Maclean, and to undervalue his facilities of observation and communication with his Government ; but in principle he is sound and his evidence as to the safety English officers

would enjoy in the country is irrefutable. While thinking that the presence of General Maclean at Meshed with the right of visiting Herat at frequent intervals adequately meets all the requirements of our being kept well supplied with news as to Western Afghanistan, I would strongly urge upon the authorities the desirability of getting the Ameer's permission to station an English officer at either Balkh or Maimena, and to laying down a field telegraph between India and one or other of those places. Russia is now in telegraphic communication with Kerkhi close to Kham-i-ab, and thus enjoys an immense advantage over us. It is probable that when the next phase of the Afghan Question is reached the first advantage will go to the Power that possesses the most accurate and rapid means of obtaining information. At present Russia enjoys an unquestionable advantage over us in that respect and the Government of India should lose no time and spare no effort in inducing the Ameer to co-operate with us in repairing what is a weakness in his position as well as a disadvantage to our interests. An English officer in Turkestan, a telegraph wire to Balkh, and the necessary preparatious for rapidly laying down a railway to Jellalabad when the need arises are three simple propositions towards placing the Indian Empire in a proper state to guard its rights when the whole Afghan Question is re-opened by the act of Russia or by the sudden termination of Abdurrahman's reign.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

THE NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA.

Now that the generation of "sepoy officers" is rapidly passing away; that the old Indian is barely distinguished from his fellows at clubs and public gatherings; and that the once formidable military service of the Government in Leadenhall Street has gone through the process of part demolition, part renovation, and part reconstruction, together with an entire change of name, it is pleasant to see, on so enlightened a platform as that of the Royal United Service Institution, an attempt made to call attention to the three Presidency armies of India, not only as they exist in figures or as a statistical fragment, but as an actual living body, capable of offence and defence, and not unlikely to be required some day to furnish proofs of loyalty and devotion.

The papers read on the occasions to which reference is made were, perhaps, rather "statements" than "lectures"; but the latter term is so generally applied in these days, that there is no valid reason for discarding the more conventional designation. It might have been well to have secured, in the first instance, uniformity of treatment by defining the lines to be followed by the respective lecturers in the exposition of the subjects entrusted to them. This process would have increased the value of the whole series, however it might have interfered with independent methods of arrangement; for a manual of reference on certain essential points might thus have been obtained for the whole Indian army, and the work of a learner or compiler would have become greatly facilitated. On the other hand, there are advantages in leaving to each exponent full liberty to state his case in the way he may think proper,

giving him such general notion of what is required at his hands as may be determined by a comprehensive heading or title.

Three lectures, then, which have been recently delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on the respective armies of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay—each by an officer of the army forming the subject of his particular consideration—while they seem scarcely to have met with the attention they deserved, in respect of the number of listeners and notices of the press, will be found useful records in the well-conducted journal to the pages of which they have been relegated. If they did not always attract crowded audiences, they always contrived to command the presence of individual hearers who attended with honest purpose, seeking information for its own sake, or who loved to revive the professional reminiscences of early manhood, when cadetships were bestowed by East India Company Directors, and cadets ticketed and forwarded to their several destinations in sailing vessels round the Cape. It is proposed, in the first instance, to glance at these papers *seriatim*; and afterwards to be led into a more general discussion of the subject of the Native Army of India, by noting the more salient expressions of opinion on the part of the several lecturers.

A plain straightforward account of the native army of Bengal was given by Major-General Gordon, who stated his case under the ægis of a well-qualified chairman, Sir Peter Lumsden. Reducing his eight heads of exposition into three paragraphs, and interpolating an occasional note or comment, we may summarize the statement as follows:

1. His army, including the Panjáb Frontier Force, consists of twenty-four regiments of cavalry, sixty-four battalions of infantry, a corps of sappers and miners, and four mountain-batteries of artillery. These, with the corps of Guides, may be considered, for the sake of lucidity, as the Bengal army proper. There are, however, besides, under the orders of the Government of India, six regiments of

cavalry, twelve battalions of infantry, and four field-batteries, comprising the Haidarabad contingent, Rajputána and Central India local levies, and the Central India horse, all, except the last named, organized on the old irregular system, with two to four British officers attached to each corps. Two-thirds of the army of Bengal Proper are recruited from Northern India and Nepál, and one-third from the North-West Provinces. Of the twenty-four cavalry regiments, three designated as "class," are wholly Muhammadan, and two Hindú; the remaining nineteen have "class" troops, formed separately as the regiments. In the infantry, twenty-two of the sixty-four battalions, *i.e.*, 13 Gurkha, 5 Sikh, 1 Dogra, and 3 Muzbi, are "class," and forty-two have "class" companies. The sappers have "class" companies: of the mountain-batteries nothing is said in this respect; but according to the "Army List," while there is one Muhammadan among the three native officers of No. 1 Battery, there are two Muhammadans out of the three in No. 2. The cavalry regiments are numbered from 1 to 19 as Bengal Cavalry; of these the 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 18th, and 19th are "Lancers:" the remaining five are separately numbered as Panjáb Cavalry. Each regiment has eight troops or four squadrons, with a complement of 9 British officers (including commandant and adjutant), 17 native officers, 64 non-commissioned, 8 trumpeters, and 536 *sowárs*. Among the native commissioned one is Rissaldar major, and one native Adjutant. Foot regiments are numbered 1 to 45 as Bengal Infantry; 1 to 5 Gurkhas, each with two battalions; 1 to 4 Sikh; and 1 to 6 Panjáb. There are eight companies to the battalion, and eight British officers; but as these include a commandant, two wing commanders, an adjutant and a quartermaster, there are but three left for ordinary regimental duty. Of natives there are 16 commissioned (including a subadar major and jemadar adjutant), 40 havildars or sergeants, 40 naiks or corporals, 16 drummers and 800 privates. The corps of Guides of the Panjáb

Frontier Force consists of six troops of cavalry and eight companies of infantry, under one commandant. It has 14 British officers, and a strength of 1,381 natives of all ranks. The corps of Sappers has six service and two *dépôt* companies; 20 European officers, inclusive of commandant, adjutant, superintendent of park and superintendent of instruction; a warrant officer and non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers, and a total of 1,431 natives. Each mountain-battery of six guns has with it 4 British officers of Royal Artillery, 3 native officers, 98 gunners and non-commissioned officers, and 138 drivers. A British medical officer, with native hospital establishment, is attached to every regiment.* The question of reserves has not been lost sight of, and a system is now under formation providing for two kinds—active and garrison.

2. Enlistment is voluntary, and the term of service is for three years, renewable if desired beyond that period; the standard age is from 18 to 25, and the minimum of height 5½ feet (except in the case of Gurkhas). Once enlisted, the *sipáhi*—I crave pardon for correct spelling—has to undergo a course of drill and discipline similar to that which falls to the lot of the British soldier. Under the new organization, each troop or company is commanded by a responsible native officer, who reports daily to his squadron or wing commander. The commandant conducts the ordinary business of the regiment at the orderly-room, and his British officers render him assistance in such matters as appertain to the particular offices of administration or supervision with which they are charged. There is a British officer of the week and a native officer of the day. Certain powers of punishment are vested in British officers and troop and company officers; but the commandant's power enables him to dispose of offences coming within the jurisdiction of a garrison court-martial. Native officers

* The medical establishment is in like manner attached to Madras and Bombay regiments.

live in separate huts in the lines prepared for the men, and arrangements are made for accommodation of some families also ; but for the most part these remain at their own homes. All pay for their food, which is provided by a special bazár establishment attached to the regiment for the purpose. Every cavalry soldier owns his horse, equipment, arms, tent, baggage pony, and the outward essentials of service—the carbine alone being supplied by the State. His monthly pay is held sufficient for the keep of horse and pony as of himself ; but he sometimes receives an advance from the cash chest, afterwards recovered in instalments. A scale, ranging from Rs. 27 to Rs. 51, shows the amount received on first enlistment, and up to that of the highest non-commissioned ; and from Rs. 60 to Rs. 300 that of the newly-made commissioned officer to that of the most exalted rank. The days have gone by when conversion into English coin was readily effected at the rate of Rs. 10 to the pound : nevertheless, for local exigencies, the payment is fair and reasonable. As General Gordon says : “ After his many deductions, he (the trooper) has very little over to spend on himself, but still the service is popular, and sought after by men of good family.” With the infantry soldier, the pay ranges from Rs. 7 to Rs. 23 a month for rank and file and non-commissioned, and from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 for commissioned officers. Pensions are given to the native soldiers for length of service, and on account of wounds ; and to the heirs of all ranks killed in action, or who die in service out of India. For reward of long and distinguished service and bravery in action, two special orders have been created, respectively called that of British India and that of Merit. Each carries with it a money allowance. So also the good-conduct medals which have lately been sanctioned. Promotion is mainly guided by merit, but in mixed class regiments every class has its fair share of commissioned and non-commissioned. As a rule, commissions are accorded to the more deserving non-commissioned officers. Direct commissions are rarely given in the case of outsiders.

English and the vernacular languages are taught in regimental schools.

3. Under the head "Equipment," an account is given of the dress, arms, and accoutrements of the several branches of the army. Of the 24 cavalry regiments 15 are dressed in blue, 5 in scarlet, 2 in drab, 1 in yellow, and 1 in green. Their uniform consists of a loose turban head-dress, a long easy blouse with chain shoulder-straps, a waist-girdle, loose riding trousers with long boots, or "puttis" with ammunition boots. Irrespective of the lance of the "Lancers," the cavalry soldier has a Snider carbine and sword. Revolvers are carried by native officers, a few non-commissioned and trumpeters. Of the 64 infantry regiments, 36 are dressed in red, 14 in dark green, and 14 in drab. A short cloth tunic, loose kháki blouse, loose trousers drawn in below the knee, "puttis" and ammunition boots and shoes are worn. On the head is the loose turban varying according to the regimental colour adopted; but the Gurkhas wear the Kilmarnock cap. The summer and service uniform is of "kháki" from head to foot. The usual arm of the infantry is the long Snider; but the Panjáb Pioneer regiments have the short Snider rifle, as also the Gurkhas, who carry, besides, the *kukri*, a curved knife, formidable in their hands. Government supplies the cloth uniform, and issues waterproof sheets, jerseys, blankets and boots, to corps going on service.

Little is said of the *old* Bengal army, except that it was organized on the regular system, with a regimental establishment of British officers to each troop or company: moreover, that there were belonging to it a certain number of irregular corps, notably efficient, although they had only three British officers to each, taken from the regular army. Of the present Bengal army one-half dates its rise, we are told, from 1857; the Panjáb Frontier Field Force having been raised eight years earlier, when the Panjáb was annexed. General Gordon truly says that the Gurkha "is essentially a foreigner, and being a native of a cold climate,

a hardy mountaineer and a good fighting man, is ranked among our best soldiers." Of the Sikhs he adds : " Theirs is the religion of the sword." Undoubtedly the sturdy physique of the one and the warlike propensities of the other of these two races tell immensely in their favour when first presented to the recruiting-officer's notice.

General Michael's paper on the Madras army takes us back to 1758, when the Local Government " began to raise regiments composed of inhabitants from the Carnatic." First, companies of one hundred men were duly formed and officered; then, these companies became parts of battalions, of which there were ten in 1765, and sixteen in 1767. In the re-organization of 1796, the establishment of native infantry was fixed at eleven regiments, each of two battalions; and in 1837, the year of Her Majesty's accession, there were fifty-two single-battalion regiments. Half a century later—or at the present time—the infantry of the Madras army is found to consist of thirty-two regiments only.

A battalion of native artillery, consisting of ten companies, was formed in 1784, prior to which date native Gun Lascars had been attached to the European artillery. This arrangement appears to have been short-lived; but in 1796 there were two battalions of five companies each; and in 1837, three troops of horse artillery and one battalion of foot artillery. Now, we look in vain for the Golundáz, or native gunners, in Madras.

Four regiments, taken over by the East India Company in 1780 from the Náwab of the Carnatic, and permanently enlisted by their new masters in 1784, may be considered as forming the first nucleus of Madras cavalry. In 1796 the same number of regiments held good, with much the same strength in troopers, but a slight reduction in native officers; and in 1837 there were no less than eight regiments. At present the number has been reduced to the old standard of four. The Madras Sappers and Miners date from 1780, when they were called "Pioneers" and officered

from the line. In 1831 Engineer officers were appointed to command and instruct them; and under the designation which it now bears, this distinguished corps has continued for more than half a century to do credit to the Presidency in which it originated. Two regiments on the strength of the Madras Native Infantry, made "Pioneers" in 1883, may be considered, in some sense, practically qualified to act as sappers.

The present strength of native regiments is put down as follows:—

Cavalry.—9 European and 12 native officers; with 514 non-commissioned, rank and file.

Sappers.—22 commissioned and 67 non-commissioned European officers; with 24 commissioned and 1,384 non-commissioned native officers, rank and file.

Infantry.—9 European and 16 native officers, with 873 non-commissioned, rank and file.

In the cavalry the proportion of Musalmans is beyond three-fourths, or 1278 out of 1683. Of the sappers more than an eighth are Telingas, nearly a sixth are Christians, about one-fourth are "Tamils," and considerably more than a third are of unspecified caste. In the infantry, while more than a third are Muhammadans, more than a tenth Tamils, and more than three-eighths Telingas, there are not a fifteenth part Christians. At the same time it should be noted that of the higher native castes—here designated Brahman and Rajput—there is not to be found one man in thirty.

The standard height for recruits is 5 feet 6 inches for cavalry, and 5 feet 5 inches for infantry and sappers; age from sixteen to twenty-two. Much the same discipline is exacted from the enlisted sipáhi as in Bengal. The British Commandant, whose confidential officer is the sabadar major, is paramount in his regiment. Next below him in rank is the second in command, who is the senior wing or squadron commander. Wing and squadron commanders are answerable for the appearance, discipline, and officering of their half-battalions or squadrons, and for the

instruction of their officers, European and native. The quartermaster of a native regiment is responsible for all the public buildings used, and generally for the lines and bazár. Subadars command their troops or companies on parade, instruct them in drill, and are responsible for their order in lines and barracks, and the due intimation to them of all legitimate orders. Jemadars are the native sub-alterns, taking their turn of duty with the Subadars as regimental officer of the day. Punishments awardable without court-martial are, with little exception, such as extra drill within prescribed limits, inflicted by the commanding officer. A prisoner has the option of being tried by European or native officers. Public quarters are not provided for the sipáhi, who pays for his hut as well as his food, and receives a grant in aid called hutting money, according to rank, on every change of station. These huts, being the property of the men, are purchased by one regiment from another on relief, at a valuation set upon them by a committee of native officers. In order to encourage the establishment, in the lines, of regimental bazárs, advances to tradesmen for the purpose are made under authority. The sipáhi is nominally allowed to have only two adult relatives living in his hut, or one adult with unmarried daughters or young male children; but much is left to the discretion of the commandant, and it often happens that the native officer or soldier has several members of his family living with and dependent on him. In the cavalry the pay is from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 for commissioned officers not on the staff, with an allowance for carriage of Rs. 30 in the field, or marching, and Rs. 50 more for a Subadar major, or Rs. 17½ for Jemadar adjutant; while it ranges from Rs. 9 to Rs. 20 for rank and file and non-commissioned, with field batta from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 5, and staff allowances from Rs. 3½ to Rs. 21. For the infantry and sappers the figures are from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100; commissioned officers, exclusive of field batta, from Rs. 7½ to Rs. 15, and staff allowances Rs. 17½ to Rs. 50; and

Rs. 7 to Rs. 14 for rank and file and non-commissioned, with field batta from Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 5, and staff allowances from somewhat more than Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 10. Promotion to the rank of native officer is usually made by selection from the non-commissioned ranks; but Government has the power (exercised in two instances only known to the lecturer) of bestowing direct commissions on gentlemen of position.

If nothing has been said in the account of the Bengal army on the recognized means of oral intercommunication for English officer and native soldier, it is presumed that this silence is understood to imply a general use of Hindustani or Úrdú. But it is known that inducements are offered for officers to pass in special languages such as Gurkháli and Panjábi. As to Madras, we are told that the languages spoken by the sipáhis are Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Mahratta; the first-named being the *lingua franca*, "in which communication between officers and men is usually maintained." Some, however, may demur to the statement that "practically every sepoy can converse in" Hindustani. Recruiting, for instance, to any large extent, on account of a northern Circar regiment, an adjutant would be sorely puzzled to communicate with new levies raised in those parts if he were ignorant of Telugu. The same difficulty would present itself, though in a minor degree, with respect to Tamil for recruits obtained in the south of the peninsula; nor is it necessarily removed in the course of a year or two's training, for it is not every Indian peasant who is gifted with that power of acquiring languages remarkable in so many of the better educated Hindús. General Michael's statement that English is now "very commonly studied and spoken by the Madras sepoy" is quite intelligible. The Madras "boy" has been always far ahead of the north-country "khidmatgár" in learning the language of his employers, and with the spread of Western education there is no reason why he should lag behind his fellows in the pursuit of knowledge.

Inability to compete with his brethren of Bengal and the North-West in physical size and strength may be overlooked, it is reasonably argued, in favour of qualities such as "general healthiness, sobriety, and powers of endurance," possessed by the Madras man in an eminent degree, independently of his comparative disregard to caste prejudices. To this last cause, or rather to the absence of high-caste men in the ranks, has been attributed the readiness to go on foreign service which has so honourably distinguished this particular soldier from his fellows. Such view, according to General Michael, may be correct to a certain extent; but he pleads that "natives of India of whatever caste are naturally averse to foreign service and sea voyages, on account of the long separation from their families entailed;" and he adds, "this has been practically overcome in the Madras army, and as they so frequently go to sea, arrangements for the food and comfort of the men on board ship have been very carefully studied, and are ensured under regulations of a very perfect character." Further information is afforded under the several heads of Establishments; Compensation for dear provisions; Good Conduct and Working Pay; Family payments or remittances; Arms, Equipment, and Saddlery; Musketry; Shooting; Army signalling; Cavalry horses; Forage; Movement of troops by land; Commissariat; Bands and Messes, and Hospitals. Our thanks are due to General Michael for his summary of these matters, which is, upon the whole, well and carefully put together. It may be that he has not made sufficient allowance for the responsibilities of an adjutant in a native regiment in saying that his duties vary little from those of an adjutant of a British regiment. But new systems may have modified those responsibilities, and the days when an adjutant was supposed to know the character of every officer, European and native, and could put his finger on the fittest man for promotion or special service—whether he were a captain to undertake a secret mission, a native

non-commissioned to receive a commission, or a private to be made a lance-corporal—have possibly passed away for ever.

On the recruit and pension boys of a Madras regiment the lecturer tells us that they “must be the legitimate sons of native officers and soldiers; orphans have the preference.” They are boys who are intended for eventual transfer to the ranks, provided they are 5 feet 4 inches in height, and possess otherwise the requisite qualifications, failing which they must be discharged at the age of eighteen. They are drilled, and do orderly duty. Should the number of these *umaidwārs*, or “hopefuls,” correspond with the old maximum, they may be completed to thirty recruit and forty pension boys. But it should be explained that in the second category many are mere infants, and that it is to the thirty only that the regiment may look with confidence for lads competent to perform orderly duty and fit for immediate transfer to the ranks. Natural precociousness and steady training from early boyhood render these last the smartest and most efficient of recruits, and admirable orderlies.

Major-General W. E. Macleod, an officer of regimental and staff experience during an Indian service of thirty years, is the lecturer on the Bombay army. He states that when he joined in 1838, the native cavalry was represented by three regiments of Regulars and Poonah Irregular Horse; the artillery consisted of Golundaz. There were twenty-six regiments of regular infantry, one marine battalion, and some local irregulars. In later years the strength of the cavalry was increased by Jacob's Irregular Horse, the Guzerat Irregular, and Southern Mahratta Horse; and of the infantry by three native regular and two Baluch battalions. A Sindh Camel Corps was also raised, and the “Aden Troop” formed from drafts of irregular cavalry. It would be somewhat foreign to the purpose of this sketch to follow General Macleod in his account of the services of particular regiments until 1844, when the withdrawal from

Afghanistan had been effected and Sind annexed to British India; but we may extract a few practical paragraphs, or portions of paragraphs, illustrative of the old system, under the head of "Interior Economy":—

"Each company under a British officer was divided into sub-divisions and sections, each sub-division under a native officer, and each section under non-commissioned officers, responsible for the supervision of the men. As to the state of their arms, accoutrements, ammunition, equipment, and regimental necessities, the cleanliness of their lines, and all matters of duty and discipline conducive to good behaviour, each section had a due proportion of 'caste' and 'country.'

"A return of 'country,' 'caste,' 'age,' 'height,' of each rank in a company (prepared by company officers) was furnished in 'one regimental form' to army headquarters periodically.

"The periodical promotion rolls furnished by company officers received the careful scrutiny and attention of the commanding officer before the promotions were confirmed and published in regimental orders; and this scrutiny had regard to length of service; but the system which guided such promotions through the different grades from lance-naique to native officer was distinctly that of *selection*, and with regard for efficiency and a due balance of caste and nationality.

"The men's lines were subject to the supervision of the quartermaster, but each of the company authorities were responsible, through him and by constant inspection, to the commanding officer as to their general cleanliness and neatness. No strangers were allowed to live in the lines without (through the company authorities) the permission of the commanding officer.

"In the Bombay army the men were *never* separated from their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, either in quarters, on the march, or service, except at sea, when, according to the Bombay army rules for such occasions, they were lodged in the places pointed out for the purpose by the vessel's authorities.

"The word 'fatigue duty,' in garrison, field, or board ship, in the Bombay native army, included every employment under that head as performed by British regiments, and the men were detailed for it as they stood on the company roster, without any reference to 'caste or country,' and within my long experience of regimental duty I know of no 'fatigue duty' that has not been always performed by the sepoys with readiness and cheerfulness.

"The adjutant of the regiment was responsible to the commanding officer for every detail of the regiment connected with drill, duty, and discipline, theoretical and practical, and except on holidays was expected to be on the 'drill' (recruit) ground or parade every morning and evening. His immediate subordinates were the native adjutant, havildar major; and the staff of drill-masters (in proportion to the number of recruits) were selected by him for efficiency and smartness, and without any reference to 'caste.' Some of the old stamp of Bombay men were very smart drills and good teachers."

Though no complete statement of the actual strength in these days of the Bombay army under the new organization is given, the number of infantry corps is alluded to in the following passage, referring to the possible quarters of disturbance in Western India :—

“All these . . . may any day call forth again the services of the Bombay native army, which in 1838 numbered twenty-six regiments for service within the strictly speaking Bombay limits, against, now in 1888, twenty-two regiments only, with their service extended to Scinde, Quetta, Southern Mahratta country, and Rajpootana ; for, of the present thirty regiments, three Belooch and one marine battalion are, so to say, local, and *four* good old faithful regiments have, for financial reasons, been recently swept away from the Bombay native infantry.”

To the above may be added what we know from the records to be the actual present state of the army of the Western Presidency :—

Seven cavalry regiments (irrespective of the Aden Troop and Body Guard), of which two are lancers, two “Jacob’s Horse,” one is “Poona Horse,” one light cavalry, and one so-called “Baluch Horse.” The uniform is dark green and gold. A commandant, 4 squadron commanders, and 4 squadron officers are attached to each as the European complement. The strength in natives is 17 commissioned and 608 non-commissioned officers and troopers.

Two mountain-batteries of native artillery ; uniform dark blue and gold, with scarlet facings. Strength : 4 European and 3 native officers, with 98 non-commissioned, trumpeters, and gunners ; drivers and others of all ranks, 208.

Sappers and miners, of which there are four working companies and one dépôt company. For these there is a commandant, a superintendent of instruction and second in command, an adjutant, an instructor in army signalling and telegraphy, 5 company commanders and 5 company officers, and 5 “unattached”—all Royal Engineers. Uniform scarlet and gold, with blue facings. Strength : 1 warrant officer, 2 staff sergeants, and 34 European sergeants and others ; 15 native commissioned, 80 havildars and naiks, and 772 sappers, including buglers and recruit boys.

Of native infantry there are twenty-six regiments, including the marine and three Baluch battalions mentioned above. Two of these are Grenadiers, six light infantry, and one is a corps of Rifles. Ten have red uniforms with yellow facings; four red with emerald green; four red with white; three red with black; one red with sky blue; three have dark green uniform with scarlet; and one rifle green with red facings. Strength: 1 commandant, 2 wing commanders, and 5 wing officers; 16 native commissioned, and 816 non-commissioned, rank and file, and others.

Details such as here given may appear to be unnecessarily lengthy and minute, but they are yet insufficient to convey that full, comprehensive summary of the native army of India which might have been put before the readers in fewer words had the statements under notice been confined to identical lines of investigation. In any case, they afford a large amount of useful information, and show that we possess a local force for the protection of our Indian Empire which may be numerically stated in the following figures:—

PRESIDENCY.	ARTILLERY.		CAVALRY.		INFANTRY.		SAPPERS AND MINERS.		TOTAL.	
	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Gunners.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sowars.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Rank & File.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sappers.	Commissioned.	Non-Commissioned, Rank & File, &c.
Bengal ...	12	*392	408	12,864	1,024	56,320	24	1,328	1,468	70,904
Madras...	—	—	48	2,056	512	27,936	24	1,384	584	31,356
Bombay	6	†192	119	4,256	416	20,800	15	830	556	26,078
	18	584	575	19,176	1,952	105,056	63	3,542	2,608	128,338

* Exclusive of 552 Drivers.

† Exclusive of 276 Drivers.

But this is not all. There are the troops to which allusion was made in the commencement of General Gordon's

paper, the nature and strength of which may be thus tabulated :—

DESCRIPTION.	ARTILLERY.		CAVALRY.		INFANTRY.		TOTAL.	
	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Gunners.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sowars.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned Rank & File.	Commissioned.	Non-Commissioned and others.
Haidarabad Contingent... ..	8	272	56	2,132	102	4,878	166	7,282
Central India Horse	—	—	34	1,200	—	—	34	1,200
Malwa Bheel Corps...	—	—	—	—	16	580	16	580
Bhopal Battalions ...	—	—	—	—	17	900	17	900
Deoli and Eripura Irregulars	—	—	8	316	32	1,360	40	1,676
Maywar and Marwara Corps	—	—	—	—	32	1,360	32	1,360
	8	272	98	3,648	199	9,078	305	12,998

Others, moreover, might be found ; and it may be urged that account has not been taken of body guards and escorts. But the object of the present paper has been rather to follow in the wake, and accept the statistics, of the lectures recently delivered at the United Service Institution, than to broach a general question on the broad lines of a Parliamentary Commission or Government enquiry. Having, therefore, disposed of the data supplied, let us turn to the views of the lecturers on the points which have called for personal comment, where such points appear to be suggestive of legitimate and useful discussion.

General Gordon is of opinion that the addition of "class" corps to the native army is a "military political gain." He considers that the arrangement is provocative of a "martial spirit and sentiment somewhat akin to our national feeling;" and after citing the Gurkha and Sikh battalions as instances in support of his view, he says

with self-evident truth: "The various races and religious antipathies of India are our security from universal combination against our supremacy, and this is to be maintained more by means of class than by mixed regiments." He shows how the irregular system has become—to use a quasi-French idiom—"regularized" as regards the duties of British officers; and is so satisfied with the working of the squadron command, 156 strong, "as the administrative unit for the British officer," that he would see the same applied to the infantry in the shape of a double-company formation, 225 strong: that is to say, he would substitute four double-company commands for those of two wings. His argument is a sound one, no doubt, in the sense that, in an *imperium in imperio*, it is easier for those who work under the regimental commandant efficiently to control 225 men than 450, and that four responsible commands would bring forward for emergencies a greater number of experienced officers than two; but on the other hand it becomes a question whether the change is of sufficient urgency to warrant its present application. So much has been done of late years to disorganize as well as to organize the *sipáhi* army; so great has been the transformation from the old order of things to a new one; so much has been given our native soldiers to unlearn as well as to learn; that time may yet be wanting to prove the success of the irregular system generally, and that it might be unwise to attempt more radical changes until the minds of rulers were more convinced, and the ways of the ruled gave more ground for their conviction, that the reforms already effected were the best that could have been designed.

However small the number of British officers now attached to each native regiment, it is gratifying to learn that this number "is always kept complete" by the appointment of probationers for the staff corps to fill the vacancies occasioned by officers going on leave of absence. General Gordon's natural proposal that "the regimental establishment might be increased to such an extent as to obviate the

necessity of filling up vacancies caused by officers absent on furlough," and his suggestion that "the probationer could then look on his first regiment as his home," might almost, if they stood alone, read like an interlineal lament on the irrevocable past. But in a later paragraph he reverts directly to the old system, and shows himself opposed to its working in respect of absentees. It had certainly the advantage of bringing together, *on a demand for active service*, all officers fit for duty, most of whom would be men of professional experience: but the large number of these on furlough, or staff employ, was in itself a serious evil, the existence of which is thus explained:—"The great aim of most of the officers was to get away from the regular regiment to some better paid and more attractive appointment, military or civil." When the staff corps was created, duty with a native regiment was declared to be one of the coveted staff appointments, and it has been found to be so, not in name only, but also in pay and substance. Still—there is no reserve of officers under present arrangements, and, as the General says, "such may be required."

Something will be said later on about the fitness of the Indian soldiers for modern warfare, and the value of auxiliary native troops, when General Gordon's brief but pertinent remarks on both subjects will be considered.

In his paper on the Madras army, General Michael has expressed himself to the effect that he has purposely avoided criticism of accomplished facts such as the formation of the staff corps, introduction of the irregular system, abolition of native artillery, and reduction of the native army generally. Such reserve is intelligible, and cannot but command approval or respect. But it is not quite so clear why he did not put it within his province to pass an opinion on the fighting qualities of his *sipáhi*; as this point is one on which it is important to have honest and trustworthy testimony. He has contented himself by enumerating the honourable distinctions for war service

borne by various Madras regiments on their colours, and called attention to their readiness to go on service beyond seas or wherever required. One or two of the speakers who followed the lecturer made up to a certain extent for any apparent incompleteness on this head by personal evidence of their own ;* and the loyalty and gallantry

* An incident of the Chinese war of 1840-41, alluded to on this occasion, was thus related by Commander Bingham, R.N., in his "Narrative of the Expedition to China" (Colburn, 1843). The "general" was Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough :—

"Near 4 p.m., the 37th arrived at the spot where the General stood, and most cordially did he welcome them, shaking hands individually with the officers, European and native. They were well worthy of such a reception ; for nobly did the native troops of India on this day uphold the character they have always borne.

"On the 26th coming up, it was found that the 3rd Company of the 37th was missing, and not been seen by them. These two regiments were worn out from a hard day's work ; an express was therefore sent off for two companies of Marines, with the new muskets fitted with percussion locks, who were dispatched, in company with Captain Duff, to the scene of the day's combat, in search of the missing company. After a long and fatiguing march, the Marines were guided to their object by hearing some occasional firing, followed by distinct hurrahs. It was now quite dark and raining heavily. The Marines proceeded on rapidly in the direction of the reports, when the Chinese, to the number of some thousands, fled at their approach, at once exposing to their view the lost company, drawn up in square in a paddy-field. The Marines gave the flying and cowardly enemy a farewell volley, when the whole thus re-united party returned to the lines, which they reached about 9 p.m.

"It was subsequently explained that this company had, from the thickness of the weather, missed the Cameronians, from whom they had been detached, and had commenced a retrograde movement about the same time as the rest of the force : they had not, however, retired many hundred yards when their rear was assailed by a strong body of Chinese, armed with a variety of weapons. When one of the sepoys was pulled out of the rear rank by a long pike-shaped spear, Mr. Berkeley, the ensign of the company, with half a dozen men, sprang to his assistance : but it was too late ; he struggled hard for his life ; and when surrounded by numbers, and his musket had been wrenched from him, fought desperately with his bayonet, until he fell covered with wounds.

"A rallying square being rapidly formed, Mr. Berkeley and his men returned to it, when a Chinaman, picking up the fallen man's musket, got behind a small bush where he rested it on one of the branches, and coolly turning over the wet powder in the pan, took a deliberate aim at the officers, and then, applying his own match to the priming, he lodged the ball in Mr. Berkeley's arm.

"Not a musket, in consequence of the heavy rain, could be got to go off

of the Madras Sappers in Abyssinia were cited in confirmation, as it were, of the already established reputation of that distinguished corps. But it would be absurd to argue that the Madras Hindú was normally a man of fighting caste; and the fact that upwards of 10,000 men of the 26,219 who, General Michael informs us, compose the thirty-two native Indian regiments, are Telingas (mainly recruited, in all probability, in the northern Circars), is perhaps more promising in respect of orderly behaviour and attention to discipline, than of soldierly pluck and determination, though the latter may not be wanting, and are qualities capable of being fostered by example.

with flint and steel; while the bayonet was but a poor defence against the long spears of the Chinamen, who, though surrounding our company by thousands, showed no wish to close.

"After a short time the square were enabled to remove to a more defensible spot; when the rain ceasing for a little while, a few of the muskets became useful; while some of the sepoys, tearing the lining from their caps, drew the wet cartridges, and baling water with their hands into the barrels, succeeded in partially cleaning them. By these means they were shortly enabled to fire three or four successive volleys, every shot telling fatally on the crowd, not fifteen yards from them. This quickly drove the Chinese back, and admitted of the company's making a considerable progress towards the camp, their enemies following at a safe distance from their fire. The rain again rendering their muskets useless, and emboldening the Chinese, they were for a third time obliged to form square, with the determination of remaining so for the night, when the timely arrival of the Marines prevented the alternative. This arrival was doubly important, as just at the moment of its occurring, the enemy opened fire from a small gun they had mounted on a neighbouring hill. The loss sustained by this company was one private killed, as we have before mentioned, and one officer and fourteen men severely wounded.

"Too much praise cannot be given to this gallant little band, for their ready obedience to their officers* under the most trying circumstances, and for the steadiness with which they resisted the rushes on the square, adding to the name that the Indian army has long possessed for their effective discipline and bravery.

* Lieutenant Hadfield, Lieutenant Devereux, and Ensign Berkeley, the corps to which this gallant company belonged, were rewarded by being made a grenadier regiment; and the native officers and non-commissioned officers, and sepoys of the company engaged, were to receive an increase of pension on retirement, their names being honourably enrolled in the regimental books.

It transpired in the course of discussion, that one weak point in the Madras system was the intrusion into the *sipáhi's* hut and home of a certain number of relatives or dependants. Sir William Payn, an officer well calculated to speak of Oriental as of British troops, considered it a very bad rule that the family should live upon the soldier, and mentioned that in the first regiment he inspected at Bangalore "there were 700 or 800 combatants and 1,452 camp followers." These he explained to be the actual relations of the soldier living upon him, eating up his victuals, and reducing him to comparative starvation. That the lecturer had noted this undoubted flaw, will have been seen in the foregoing pages; but he had found the practice, with all its drawbacks, to be attended with certain advantages. His meaning will be better expressed in his own words than in any abridged version which could be substituted. He is referring to the period of the Indian Mutiny:—

"In those dark days the fidelity of the Madras troops shone out conspicuously. I was then Assistant Chief Engineer at Hyderabad in the Deccan, and while we were daily hearing of terrible disasters and massacres at Delhi, Cawnpore, Futtighur, and other places in the north, all eyes in the south were turned on the Nizam's capital, containing 70,000 or 80,000 armed men. No effort was spared by rebel emissaries to corrupt the Madras troops. In spite of Salar Jung's friendly vigilance, a determined and sudden attack was made on the Residency by a body of Rohillas and others from the city, who had been told that the half battery of Madras native horse artillery, composed almost entirely of Mussulmans, which was camped in the grounds, would not fire upon them; but they promptly turned out, opened fire with grape, and dispersed the assailants. Failing this the Residency would in all probability have been stormed, the treasury sacked, the Nizam would have been compromised, and who can say what the result would have been to the rest of the Deccan and to Southern India generally?

"When a regiment goes into the field or on foreign service out of the Presidency, the men's families are cheerfully confided to the care of the State. Arrangements are made for their transport to the family *dépôt*, or to the towns and villages at which they wish to reside, and a well-organized establishment is maintained for the receipt and disbursement of remittances which the men make for their support. The system under which this is carried out will be more fully described elsewhere. A sepoy is thus sure that his wife and family will be cared for in his absence, and that they will get the provision which he makes for them punctually, and free of charge; thus neither party need ever call in the aid of a banker or money lender."

General Macleod bears high testimony to the soldierly bearing of the Bombay *sipáhis* when engaged on foreign service, and signalizes certain corps as worthy representatives of that particular branch of the Indian army to which they belong. There is no need at the present time to re-open the controversy on the relative merits of system adopted in this or that Presidency. Those systems have, in a great measure, been swept away by wholesale changes which—though they cannot eliminate local habits and prejudices—have tended to draw together and assimilate the military masses throughout the great imperial peninsula. The Bengal officer of 1888 would no doubt admit that many of the “Bombay Officer’s” criticisms of 1851 were warranted at the time : but the armies of both, as well as of their brother in Madras, have since undergone so thorough a transformation, that any discussion on the old organization would be now more fitly carried on by those whose names are on the retired lists, than by the active military legislators of to-day. It is well known that one great question of the day—and a most justifiable one—is the amalgamation of the three Presidency armies. Whatever the eventual fiat in this respect, it would seem well that officers of the Indian Staff Corps were more generally interchanged from one Presidency to another, so that the work of assimilation in routine and discipline might be more practically and thoroughly carried out.

General Macleod is mistrustful of the economy which has reduced the Bombay army to its present recognized strength. That army may, he argues, be called on to protect Her Majesty’s dominions within the Presidency limits ; and he finds that from that particular standpoint, there are now but twenty-two regiments to do the work performed fifty years ago by twenty-six. The lament is natural and excusable in the mouth of a zealous and hard-working regimental as well as staff officer of long experience. But when he talks of the three Baluch battalions as “local,” he seems to forget the record that he has him-

self confirmed of the services of these valuable levies in foreign countries. They have practically no title to be called "local," in the sense that they have never been, nor ever could be, utilized for any emergent work beyond their own immediate home. Regiments that have on their colours "Delhi," "Afghanistan," "Abyssinia," "Persia," and "Egypt," are surely available, if required, in any part of India. As to the "four good old faithful regiments" that have been swept away for financial reasons—although not a hint is thrown out in depreciation of their merits and usefulness—it is to be feared that a similar avalanche has destroyed and still threatens to destroy many excellent institutions other than military. In the gallant lecturer's allusion to the probability of employing troops, "*held* to be of inferior physique and prestige," on the Afghan frontier, or elsewhere "*outside* the walls" of the Indian Empire (the italics are part of the quotation), a subject of vital importance has been touched which will be briefly treated in the paragraphs now about to be added in conclusion of the present paper.

Two questions of national interest have recently been discussed according to a method sanctioned by many distinguished writers and public men of the present day—that is, in the shape of serial contributions to the pages of a leading magazine or review, and subsequent separate publication. One of these, "The British Army," the other "The Balance of Military Power," form, under this process, the material of two bright-looking volumes just now in special requisition at clubs and circulating libraries, each possessing unusual claims upon the attention of the military man and politician. Notwithstanding the *primâ facie* distinction which they present, it would not be very difficult to modify the books so that, *mutatis mutandis*, the titles could appropriately be interchanged. The spirit of each work soars so palpably towards the same goal; the same ground is so frequently traversed by either writer; and the issues, in spite of much divergence in detail, are, in

the main, almost identical. Practically the whole thing resolves itself into the queries: Are we in a position to meet the possible contingencies of European disturbance? And what form would these contingencies assume as regards ourselves? For present purposes, let us confine ourselves to the pages relating to India and its means of defence from outer enemies.

“If the native army could be relied upon in the field against a Russian enemy, whilst order could be kept in India in the event of a Russian war by the very numerous armed constabulary, the numbers would be amply sufficient for the present,” is the conclusion arrived at in the bulkier of the two volumes, or that designated “The British Army: by the author of ‘Greater Britain.’” This is immediately followed, however, by the statement, as fact, that “the condition of the country is such that a large British force must be left behind in India in garrison,” and a similarly confident assertion that “only a part of the native army can be counted on for service in the field against a European enemy.” The writer himself fears that besides the available portion of the British troops (68,000 in all), a certain number of cavalry regiments and Gurkhas are all that could be placed in line;” or, in plain words, a native force composed of a selection from less than 20,000 horsemen, say 14,000, and an infantry of about 11,000—in all 25,000. Some Indian officers, he admits, think 50,000 might be held serviceable; but no one suggests a maximum exceeding 65,000—a figure which will be found little more than half the total given at page 31. Under these circumstances, it is consoling to learn that “a formidable Russian attack upon India is still a matter of some little time.”

Little is said in “The Balance of Military Power” on the capabilities of a native army to resist Russian aggression; but a vigorous and certainly not unsuccessful attempt has been made to demonstrate that “we cannot keep India in economical and tranquil security, even if we can defend

it at all, without the power of striking effective blows against Russia elsewhere than from India." Few politicians can deny the truth of this argument, but it is unfortunately without the range of the present discussion, and has only an indirect bearing upon the merits of the native army. It would be a dangerous doctrine, however, to teach, and one which so sound a thinker as Colonel Maurice would hardly inculcate, that India need not protect herself, because she will be protected by European contingencies. Rather let her rely on her own means for self-defence, and thank Providence, should occasion arise, that she has not been called upon to use them because Western complications, or England's action in the West, may have proved sufficient to avert invasion.

For fighting purposes, and with special regard to the weapons used in modern warfare, General Gordon would wish to have more British officers with native regiments. He gives all credit to the native commissioned for devotion and courage, but he significantly notes that "the breech-loader is a hard taskmaster, and much is now demanded which military education and study of the art of war can alone give." While endorsing this view in respect of present exigencies, there are those who think that among the many smart young non-commissioned and rank and file of a native regiment, the nucleus might even now be found of a school in which military students might eventually attain the standard of competence recognized in Europe. Considering the extraordinary progress made in secular education throughout India during the last quarter century, there seems no reason why the art of war should not be acquired by our native subjects in the same perfection as other accomplishments.

"The most difficult task of the modern art of war," continues the General, "is to train an army for pitched battles. The Indian army is liable to be called on to take its place in line to oppose an enemy who fights according to the principles on which war is conducted between highly trained armies. But there will still be a field for irregular corps in Asiatic campaigns, both from the nature of the country and the auxiliaries which will

always be attached to any invading army, 'the masses of Asiatic cavalry,' to wit, which are proposed as the advanced guard of an army to be hurled on India. I think that a combination of a native army firmly organized for pitched battles, with a certain number of corps organized for light service to rally round them, is compatible with efficiency throughout."

Whether the native States of India, with their auxiliary forces, would be an element of strength or weakness in the event of invasion from without or revolution within, is a problem to be solved only by circumstances. The moral and military position of our Empire at the critical period would have more to do in guiding the conduct of mercenaries of this description than even the wishes or commands of their own chiefs and rulers, or any sentimental qualms of love or gratitude towards their British friends and patrons. Let us hear General Gordon's opinion on this point also:—

"There are other native troops which may be classed as auxiliaries. The native princes of India have lately been placing their armies at the disposal of the Imperial Government for war. This is nothing new with them. I have seen some of these troops in the field, having been associated with the contingents of the Punjab chiefs when they joined our army during the Afghan campaign, and recently during the operations in Upper Burma had under my command some of the troops of the Manipur State on the eastern frontier of Bengal. The material is good, but their weak point, as is the case in all Asiatic armies, is the officers. The Punjab chiefs' contingents at the Delhi Camp of Exercise two years ago, under the guidance of one or two British officers, in the manœuvres showed what might be made out of them. I hope we may see a defined position in the army assigned to these auxiliaries. Picked troops from them might be affiliated in the shape of militia corps to our own regiments. When called out for war, a few weeks' training under British officers would fit them to take the field as irregular corps suitable for the light service and communications of the army, as they have military habits and are inured to service of some kind."

In the last-named category are not, of course, included the Haidarabad Contingent, Central India Horse, or other detached corps under the orders of the Government of India, of which mention has been already made. These may perhaps be considered, upon the whole, as loyal as their brethren in the British service, though they may be subject to more dangerous influences.

Referring to arguments based on the fact that India pays for the military protection afforded her by the governing power, Colonel Maurice aptly quotes the declaration of a high American authority that "nowhere in all history have such results been obtained as we have secured from our native army." In connection with the principle involved, there is yet another matter for which it might be well if strict adherence to despotic precedents were waived, and to which, in conclusion, a word of reference is added.

In the grand thoroughfare of Whitehall, on the left hand of the traveller from Charing Cross to Westminster Bridge, is a kind of *cul de sac* known as Whitehall Yard, at one corner of which a low but fairly spacious building has stood for many years. To the outside world it bears the name of the Royal United Service Institution. The books in its library, the lectures in its theatre, and the arms, models, designs and curiosities in its museum have long been a source of attraction to its members in the two services, their friends, and to many of the public. But not only has it served the purposes of professional education : it has also helped to train young speakers in the most essential art of expressing their thoughts in public ; and members of parliament and other public men have not disdained to exercise their eloquence on the same platform, as well as to gather up many useful crumbs of knowledge from the comparatively crude oratory of their associates.

As we are indebted to the above-named excellent Institution for the lectures which have formed the staple of the foregoing paper, it can hardly be irrelevant to revert here to its outer condition at the present moment. Owing to those improvements which are confirming this great metropolis in her title to be Queen of Cities, the building which contains it has become almost an eyesore ; remarkable chiefly by drawing attention to the many magnificent buildings behind it, which look down in apparent mockery on an occupation of site soon to be ignored for newer, though not more sterling, interests. What is to be its eventual

fate? Would it be State extravagance to give it a habitation from the public purse worthy of the only representative society of the interests generally of the British army and navy? Would it be State economy to throw the onus of a new building upon the shoulders of naval and military officers who, take them all in all, can hardly be classed with the wealthiest sons of this wealthy country? It is no exaggeration to say that much time is given to the discussion, by our legislators, of questions less weighty than these. May these, therefore, not be lost sight of in the proper quarter owing to pressure of other business.

F. J. GOLDSMID.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND OUR WHEAT SUPPLY.

To the trite remark that Indian topics are dull, abstruse, or deterrent, an exception may be made in favour of agriculture. Floods, famines, the telegraph, the visits to India of Englishmen of position and culture, and our partial dependence on that country for wheat to supply the shortcomings of the English crop, all tend to invest the alleged decay or advancement of Indian agriculture with a certain amount of interest. I propose, in this paper, to show what has been done by the Government of India of late years to improve the ordinary crops of the whole Dependency, to introduce new and higher kinds, to invigorate the flocks and herds by fresh blood; and by taking a practical part in agricultural development, to induce native landholders to follow a good example and so to elevate the condition of the labouring masses. For the last twenty years a special department of the Indian Secretariat has been devoted to these objects. But for all that, it is equally true to affirm that from the very beginning of this century and before the establishment of any such branch of the service, members of the Civil Service employed in the Revenue Line have always acquired a remarkable familiarity with the state of the crops, the remuneration of labour, the rainfall and other climatic phenomena affecting the out-turn of the harvests, the indigenous modes of irrigation, the prices ruling in the bazaars, the means of communication by boat, bullock, or cart, and all the factors which make the difference between abundance, scarcity, and downright want.

To the officer told off, after conquest, cession, or annex-

ation, to make the Revenue Settlement of a large district, all such subjects became text-books. He had to consider how the Revenue had been assessed, how it had been paid in kind or cash, at what dates and instalments, under what obligations on the one hand, or with what privileges or exemptions on the other. He mapped out estates and villages; he settled boundary disputes; he measured plots of land with the chain; recorded the number of wells and reservoirs within certain areas; he noted the absence of roads; he estimated the productive power of different kinds of soil; he watched the cereals and pulses sown, growing, reaped and carried; and he finally calculated, subject to appeal and revision, what portion of the produce should be taken by the Government and what ought to be left to the cultivator and the middleman. In order to attain this knowledge and decide these conflicting claims, he spent months under canvas, rode about the country, spoke to the headmen of villages, and held a court daily under a grove of mango trees, where statements could be tested, discrepancies reconciled, and truth and falsehood at once be made plain.

Nothing can go on in any new Indian Province until the native knows how and when he is to pay to the Imperial Government that portion of rent, land-tax, or by whatever name it may be called, which from Hindu and Moham-medan times has been due to the Ruling Power. The Revenue Settlement, first Summary and then Regular as it was termed, is in India the foundation of all order, contentment, prosperity, and progress. And the Collectors, Deputy-commissioners, and Settlement officers, who successfully conducted these operations, became conversant with all the details of village and agricultural life to an extent which was marvellous when it is considered that not one of them under his covenant could buy, rent, or hold an acre of land beyond his kitchen garden. It is no exaggeration to say that many a disciple of the school of Robert Bird, James Thomason, and John Lawrence, acquired in this

way a mass of accurate information regarding stock, prices, markets, cattle, and everything that promotes or retards good agriculture, such as would have done credit to a farmer in the Lothians or to a squire who, like Lord Tennyson's baronet, had been all his life a breeder of fat oxen and fat sheep as well as a pamphleteer on guano and on grain. But still, all this minute knowledge did not tend directly to stimulate the cultivation of the district. It was highly useful because it enabled the Commissioner of the Division or the Board of Land Revenue to assess a district fairly, and to avoid serious mistakes. But the district official took the crops as he found them, and it never occurred to him to introduce fresh seed from America or the Cape, or to show a Jat or a Kurmi that it was more profitable to grow sugar-cane, to use manures, or to practice some rotation of crops. Something was done long ago by the orders of the Court of Directors in the way of arboriculture and other experiments. Teak-trees were planted at various stations in Bengal. A cotton farm was established at Dacca, the former capital of Bengal Proper; a locality, by the way, which was soon found to be singularly unfitted for the production of any such crop.

When the cultivation of tea was thought suited for several provinces—Assam, Kumaon, and others—the services of a highly skilled Englishman were procured from China to aid local pioneers in the manufacture from the leaf. But these and similar attempts were irregular, spasmodic, and comparatively unproductive. It was reserved for the late Lord Mayo to establish a new department of agriculture, of which the sole and special business should be, by precept and example, to show Talookdars, village communities, and tenant-proprietors, what could be done to get more out of the land. It must be admitted that this office is not now conducted on the exact original plan laid down by that Viceroy. Other duties have been assigned to it. At one time it was the receptacle for all sorts of miscellaneous correspondence from which the other Secretaries

wished to be relieved, or for which they had no leisure. It has been dissolved and re-constituted, and at the present moment it controls certain agencies which properly belong to the department of Land Revenue. But it is still a distinct department under the Governor-General in Council; and in almost every Presidency under the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, or Chief Commissioner, there is a high official styled the "Director of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce." Before treating of the wheat-producing Provinces, it is well to glance at the results of these attempts on the part of a paternal Government to teach the Ryot practically *quid faciat lætas segetes*. He knows, we may add, quite as well as and better than his instructor, *quosidere* to turn up the soil.

Madras has often, and perhaps unfairly, been termed a benighted Presidency. But in no other part of the Empire has more interest been shown in agriculture or more systematic action been taken. The late Sir William Denison, when Governor of that Presidency, established a "model farm" of 300 acres at Saidapet, five miles from the town of Madras, with a skilled superintendent at its head. At the same place there is now a school of agriculture, to which a portion of the dead and the live stock of the said farm has recently been made over. There are private experimental farms at Madura in the south, once the capital of the Hindu Pandyan Monarchy, and at Karur, which is a subdivision of the fine district of Coimbatore, and is now traversed by a branch of the South Indian Railway. There is an Anglo-Indian Association formed by Eurasian and English settlers in the Mysore territory, who have taken to cultivate the ordinary cereals of the country, to grow fruits and vegetables, to feed poultry, and to cure pork. It is gratifying to be able to state that a generous Government has lent to this association, for the common use of the settlers, a donkey stallion and a bull from Aden.

Still more assuring is it to note that the son of a Brahman landowner of the district of Tinnevely, who had

studied at the School of Agriculture, chose to spend his vacation at his own home, in holding a series of agricultural exhibitions, and in showing his fellow-countrymen what wonders improved ploughs could work. We could wish that the sons of the great Bengal Zemindars would follow the example of Sami Aiyengar. Loans have been made to cultivators, under two Acts passed specially for such purposes, for the construction of wells in districts most exposed to drought, for the purchase of seed and bullocks, for the rebuilding of houses destroyed by fire, and for other agricultural ends. Money has been granted from the Treasury for prizes at shows. Seeds have been imported, of maize, wheat, sorghum, cotton, and rice. It is in contemplation to establish a central dépôt for cattle, heifers, and bulls.

The natives have adopted a pernicious custom of allowing their own bulls to breed at a very early age, and of not castrating them until they are three or four years old. Even with the beasts of the field we find those evils of early marriages which Indian reformers have so often denounced. Perhaps the best results are shown in connection with cattle diseases. We hear of a veterinary hospital, one inspector, one deputy-inspector, seventeen local inspectors and three probationers. The prevalent diseases with cattle are epizootic apthæ, rinderpest, and anthrax. In one year alone more than eleven thousand head of cattle were swept off by the last-named disease. The total number in the Presidency is estimated, on not perhaps very reliable calculation, to be about eighteen millions; of these 126,489 head were attacked by various epidemics, the deaths amounting to sixteen per cent. Over, and over again in the Annual Report does the Director comment on the unreliable nature of all his statistics. This is only what we have to expect in any attempt to number people, carts, houses, bullocks, or ploughs. Gradually the Ryot and the artisan will learn that the appearance in the village of an inquisitive personage, Englishman or native, with a pencil in his hand, followed by two or three humbler individuals with turbans

and brass badges, is not the prelude to the increase of old taxation or the imposition of new. The results so far, if not highly lucrative or convincing, afford reasonable hopes of ultimate success. The cost of the whole department, including the salary of the Director, may be put down at about half a lac of rupees, or £5,000. And the Government of Madras concludes its review of a year's operations with a warning, which was certainly not unnecessary, against superfluous appendices and schedules and long-winded Reports.

The Report from Bombay is very much taken up with experiments in cotton, linseed, and grain. But it is also encumbered with a statement of work done in completing the survey and the records of villages, and with a reference to seven new heads that, like the divisions in the sermon preached to the Covenanters at Drumclog by that gifted divine, Gabriel Kettledrumle, appear to be each garnished with seven uses of application. But a part is taken up with experiments in arboriculture, the results of which are rather bewildering. They certainly conflict with the official experience in the North-West Provinces, Bengal and Behar, and the Punjab. For some unexplained cause it was thought fit to plant the *babul* or *Acacia Arabica* tree on cultivated land. The chief value of this wood consists in its suitability for ploughs, field instruments, and cart wheels. It is almost as hard and nearly as durable as iron. It gives but a poor shade compared to the mango and the Indian fig-tree. But it seems to have injured the crops, which withered under its shade, and, at any rate, it was viewed by the Ryots with such prejudice, that this led to a protest against the planting of this sort of tree on the sides of roads and the banks of canals. Experience in Bengal and other provinces shows that the *babul* grows admirably on poor soils which produce the grass commonly used for thatch, that it does no harm, and that it is a capital preserve for wild hogs, the hog deer, and partridges and quail. Some trials of cotton seed are so curious as to merit special

notice. At a Government farm at Bhadgoon, in the district of Khandesh, cotton was sown by the Superintendent in nine separate plots. In three of these a poor indigenous sort of cotton was sown by itself. Three others were sown with cotton, which was then ploughed up and re-sown with grain, wheat, and linseed. In the last three the cotton was left, but the other three crops were sown in lines, between the rows of cotton. In the first two sets there was a dead loss of several rupees. In the last, where the cotton and wheat and other seeds were sown in rows, there was a clear profit on the linseed and the grain. Sowing different crops in the same field and furrow is a common practice in India, and may explain the prohibition in Leviticus against sowing mixed seeds. The Jews in Canaan were to be peculiar and distinct from the surrounding tribes, and this mark of separation was to comprise their agriculture as well as their moral and ceremonial laws. Certain Ryots who were invited to try the effect of some Dharwar-American cotton seed, seem to have been as obstructive as the British farmers who were recommended by the late Sir Robert Peel to use iron ploughs. "Them ploughs, Sir Robert, breeds weeds." The Ryots of Bijapur declared that the American novelty caused "blindness in their cattle."

We reserve all remarks on the cultivation of wheat in Bombay, but note that the experiments with seeds, ploughs, and manures, were only in part successful, and that rinderpest attacked the cattle of the Presidency in one year in the proportion of 69 per cent. out of all diseases. We find the same complaints as to a grievous plethora of statistics which no Englishman can credit, and the importation of costly machinery which no native would buy. Ploughs that are priced at thirty rupees are quite beyond the means of any tenant-proprietor, and so are sugar mills valued at Rs. 500, Rs. 700, and Rs. 1,000 each. But something was done to crush bones for manure, and to show the impolicy of wasting ashes. A remarkable feature in many parts of

Bombay is the smallness of the rainfall. In the long steepes below the Western Ghauts and on the ridges, the monsoon expends its tremendous force, and the clouds drop fatness. To the East, and behind the Ghauts and on the table-land of Belgaum and other districts, the yearly rainfall is not much beyond what it is in our own Midland Counties.

We turn now to the North-West Provinces of India. Here again we find the Director overhauling the records of the villages, keeping the Patwarries or village accountants up to the mark, inspecting schools where youths are trained in the work of Settlements, and collecting statistics about drought and irrigation. But then we come on experimental arboriculture, boring for wells, and the enclosure of waste lands for pasture. As a rule there is no such thing as pasture land distinguished from arable in India. When the population increases, the jungle recedes, and cereals and pulses take the place of grass and rushes that sheltered wild animals. But no cultivator sets apart or fences any plot on which to pasture his bullocks. When the land has been cleared of its harvest, the cattle roam all over the plain. While the crops are uncut, cows are tethered on the roadside, or graze on any waste or infertile land, or are driven to the edge of the jungle, if any jungle has escaped the mattock and the spade. A very fair sum has been expended in Upper India in planting groves and nurseries, and in lining the roads with avenues, followed by a partial return in the shape of timber and fruits. One enterprising collector enclosed some waste land and planted it with the babul-tree, and with grass for fodder.

At Cawnpore all kinds of experiments were tried with cotton, wheat, and maize. But the most encouraging feature is the formation by native landholders of an association consisting of eighty-six members, who represent sub-divisions of no less than thirty-one districts. These gentlemen possess what we should call home farms; they

have introduced cheap ploughs, have competed for prizes, and have acted as judges at agricultural shows. To find natives acting under the advice and suggestion but not under the direct control, of the Magistrate and Commissioner, is a real step in the direction of that local self-government in India of which we have lately heard a little too much. No less than eleven agricultural shows were held in one year at such large stations, for instance, as Meerut in the North-West Provinces, and Rai Bareilly in Oudh. Here, of course, the direct influence of the English official is imperative. Nothing would have been done *sine numine divum*. Annual agricultural exhibitions are, we apprehend, more useful in the political than in the agricultural point of view. Anything that brings the native and the Anglo-Indian community together, on the common ground of recreation and amusement, and that lifts them out of the frigid, formal, intercourse of a morning call, will tend to mitigate friction and exclusiveness. There is a sad lack of public amusements in India in which every one can join. Cricket and lawn tennis are generally confined to young and active Englishmen. Here and there we may find a Raja who gives a cup to the local sky-races, or entertains a party of sportsmen with a long line of elephants in the Terai. An agricultural show, held at such stations as Moradabad, Saharunpore, or Aligarh, in the cold season, can be attended without risk or inconvenience by scores of Englishmen and Englishwomen, and by hundreds and thousands of natives of all ranks and castes. Any money expended in marquees, sheds, prizes, and in bridging over the chasms and gaps in the community, is well laid out. We say this with a distinct recollection of absurd incidents that occurred when such shows were first invented some twenty-five years ago. Natives then imagined that these exhibitions were merely intended to collect monstrosities. They brought for the Saheb's inspection calves with five legs, deformed chickens, children with heads of abnormal size, and any *lusus naturæ* which the bazaar or the village could furnish.

It might be thought that Assam was as yet not sufficiently advanced for such a special department as the Directorship of Agriculture. Perhaps, however, it was urged that the cultivators of a backward province, half covered with jungle, needed instruction more than others. In any case experiments in ensilage seem premature and out of place in this or in any other province of India. Assam especially is a country of floods and forests, with an excessive rainfall extending from seventy or eighty to two hundred inches in the year. It may be said that the province has only two seasons, the rains and the cold weather, with a short interval of heat. It is ridiculous to suppose that a small proprietor who sees an immense tract of land available for the first comer, will store up green fodder to be used for two or three dry months. It is almost absurd to construct silos where very large tracts are flooded between June and October, and where in nearly every place, if it escapes flood, water is to be found a few feet or a few inches below the surface. No more fatal mistake can be made in India than to spend money in experiments much ahead of requirements, to create fictitious wants that soon die away, or to introduce machinery beyond the comprehension and the means of the people.

The chief aim of the Reports just condensed and analyzed is very properly to benefit the agriculturists, who in some provinces number six hundred and seven hundred to the square mile, who raise and pay more than one-third of the whole revenue of India, and who in half a century have cleared huge tracts of their primeval jungle, and have re-peopled wastes. But the supply of wheat comes home to the Englishman in more senses than one. On this head we have a good deal of information. It may be said, roundly, that there are large parts of India which have not grown and never will grow surplus wheat, or any wheat at all, under any circumstances, changes, and improvements whatever. The provinces which produce wheat are the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, one or two districts in

Sinde, parts of Bombay, large tracts in the Central Provinces, and the Province of Behar. Only a coarse variety is grown in Madras, not sufficient in quality or quantity to have much effect on the English market. It is calculated, however, that the area under wheat in British India is twenty millions of acres, yielding nearly six millions of tons. For native states we may add, at a guess, six millions more of wheat acreage, with one million and a half more of produce. In the year 1882, the producer, after feeding himself and supplying his own market, left available for export fourteen millions of cwt., and in the next year the wheat exported rose to twenty-one millions. The value of such exports increased in the same two years from six millions to nine. But the best authorities hold that very remarkable fluctuations must be expected, and that it will not be safe to rely on the power of India to supply, at any moment, the additional wheat required to feed the whole population of England. Various factors must be taken into account, in considering the export from India to the Continent and to the United Kingdom. In the first place, the Indian Ryot is in the habit of raising a variety of other edible crops. He can sell the most profitable and store the rest. He will himself buy and consume wheat whenever it falls below twenty seers the rupee, in preference to eating coarse *bajra* and *jowari*. In the dry climate of the Punjab and the Upper Provinces he can bury his wheat in the ground till it is wanted. He is not compelled, as the American farmer appears to be, to grow wheat and nothing else; and if he has a bumper crop in any year he can either send it abroad for a good price, or store it up at home. Unfortunately, several of the calculations of Indian exports have been made on the assumption that wheat is likely to sell in England at 40s. and more the quarter, a price which, for some time past, has not been realized.

Specialists have further calculated that to a Ryot in the Doab of Hindustan or in Oudh, the cost of raising

a quarter of wheat, forwarding it by rail to the sea-board, and shipping it to Europe, would be about 32 Rs. or 33 Rs. a quarter. This would leave him a profit of three or three and a half rupees; but for this, wheat would have to rise in England considerably above the present rates. We fear, too, that the comparison between the cost and profit of cultivation in America and in India respectively, may be subject to various disturbing agencies. But the following conclusions are fairly reliable. Looking to the rapidity with which wheat, like cotton, has increased in Oudh, the Punjab, and other Provinces, when there is a good demand and sale for it in England, it may be said that India will be in a state to respond to any extra call made on it under certain conditions. The wheat of Berar is grown almost exclusively for export. In Oudh there was an increase of one million of acres in five years. But four factors will always have to be taken into account in considering the importation of Indian wheat. 1. There must be abundant crops in India far beyond what the Ryot needs for immediate or future consumption. 2. There must be a deficient crop in England and in America. 3. The freight from Kurrachee, Bombay, or Calcutta, must be low. 4. A low rate of exchange in the rupee must prevail. The trade will shrink, it is stated by Indian experts, when all or any one of these conditions materially alters or entirely disappears. We shall not venture to prophesy when we don't know. But it seems uncertain whether wheat can be exported from India with profit to the Ryot, when prices in England fall below 38s. or 37s. a quarter.

Other little points may be noticed. Wheat arrives at the Indian port of embarkation in a very dirty state. It is found to be largely mixed with sweepings and refuse. Various suggestions have been made with a view of remedying this defect. One enterprising firm wished Government to help in the establishment of a vast clearing house at Cawnpore, where the wheat could be stored and sifted. But it was soon evident that Cawnpore was not

the real centre of the wheat trade. A great deal goes to Bombay, and some to Kurachee without going near Bombay at all. A better plan would be for the trader and not the cultivator, to clean the wheat, and with this view warehouses might be erected, wholly or partly by Government, at important railway stations on the main lines. Government can also help the trader by publishing trade returns and price lists of the Bazaar, and quarterly statements of the prices ruling in the English market, reduced to the current rates of the rupee in exchange—a very disheartening process to the Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council, however it may gladden the heart of the speculator who sends out gold or bills to be converted into silver in India.

The reports of analysts on the character and quality of Indian wheat are more encouraging and less uncertain than guesses at the number of ploughs or the possible prices of 1889 or 1890. It seems that there are four kinds of wheat grown in India :

1. Fine soft white.
2. Superior soft red.
3. Average hard white.
4. Average hard red.

The well-known firm of Messrs. McDougall have subjected all these kinds to a severe test, with the following results : Indian wheat alone does not make the best flour. It must be liberally mixed with the English or the American sorts. But then it possesses just those qualities in which our own wheat is deficient. It has all the characteristics of the climate in which it is grown. It is dry, aromatic, and of fine flavour. The skin is thin. The yield of flour is very large. Though when unmixed the result is a close texture and a brittle crust in the bread, an admixture with other kinds produces exactly the flour which shows the miller's skill in selection, and which gives pleasure to the palate of the consumer. The best sort of Indian wheat is the fine

soft white. With all due respect to Messrs. McDougall's opinion, Indian flour in its own country, unmixed and in the hands of a skilful baker, produces bread which, for purity and lightness, can hardly be anywhere surpassed. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, in the absence of yeast, the loaf is made to rise by the fresh juice of the Toddy or Tāri palm. An exhaustive analysis of Indian wheat by Dr. Forbes Watson leads very much to the same conclusion. The white kinds, known as soft and hard respectively, fetch the best prices. But batches of wheat frequently arrive not of the best kind, and adulterated with barley and other grains, chaff, clay, and dirt of every description. Dr. Forbes Watson, I think, is mistaken in deriving the wheat known by the name of *dudhiya* or *daudi*, from King David. The term may very well be derived from *dudh*, milk, signifying wheat of a fine white kind, as distinguished from the red sort. Solomon and Alexander, it is true, have given their names to all sorts of places and customs in the East, as Suliman and Sekunder with their derivatives. The epithet *dudhiya* or milky, is constantly applied to certain plants, and there is a kind of white stone out of which plaster is made, known as *dudhiya-patthar*. The result of experiments in crossing kinds of Indian wheat and introducing new samples is instructive. Some excellent specimens of foreign seed yielded, in the first year, very poor crops. But a second trial from the seed of the first crop was an improvement. In other instances the white wheat came up red wheat, either because it was sown in the wrong soil, or because some old red seeds found their way into the same field, or else because the white kind has a tendency, owing to climate and situation, to turn into red. But the consensus of the best authorities in India seems to be that extreme variations do not succeed well and should not be tried; that the varieties and characters of soil should be carefully studied; and that the gradual education and development of the indigenous kinds of wheat by judicious and cognate admixtures, affords the

best chance of success. It is well known that in other countries, notably the South Sea Islands, the common potato has been completely spoilt by the sweet and indigenous variety. And in India the various processes of agriculture and the conditions of any one particular locality, must always have a predominant influence in determining the yield.

Indeed, a critic anxious to throw cold water on these departmental efforts, would have very little trouble in selecting instances where pains had been taken and considerable sums expended on grotesque and disheartening failures. I shall just give a few to show one side of the shield. Seeds imported never sprouted at all. Some germinated but soon died away. A wheat crop grew to the height of twelve inches and then rotted. Scotch potatoes planted in Assam never came to the surface, and when another sort was brought down to the same province from the hills of Kumaon, the Ryots would not buy them at any price, and hardly took the potatoes as a gift. Tobacco, sorghum, maize, cotton, guinea grass, rhea, were all heart-breaking failures. In another province, nine bulls were "eating their heads off" in luxurious stalls, and doing nothing. Out of thirty-four mares only one had dropped a foal. Of two stallions one had to be shot. When a first-rate two-roller mill for crushing sugar-cane was imported, the native bullocks were so alarmed that they jibbed, un-yoked themselves, and finally lay down on the ground.

Some advanced thinkers ventured to cast doubts on the system of giving prizes, and preferred a free distribution of seeds to intelligent natives. It is out of such miscalculations and muddles that the Indian administrator has, in subsequent years, achieved his most splendid triumphs; and we should be sorry to think that directorships should be abolished, farms should be discontinued, seeds should not be imported, shows should not be held, prizes should not be given, medals not be awarded, simply because the native cultivator was obstinate, the English official impatient, and the

expenditure on agriculture in any one province was somewhat beyond the income. Fortunately, the question is likely to continue in the hands of administrators and statesmen who will not willingly let it drop, and who are well aware that it is the duty of the Government to lead in peace as well as in war, and to prove that the blunders of one generation become the science of the next.

I may add that the craze for collecting statistics of all sorts presses rather hard on the over-worked head of a district. It was not sufficient for the Government of India to have before it statistics of land cultivated, cultivable, and sheer waste; a census every ten years; prices, food grants, and every imaginable agricultural detail: but it was thought necessary to get returns of boats all over the Dependency. When we consider the large part which boats of all sizes and builds, from heavy barges down to light canoes and shallops, play in promoting communication and trade; how every navigable river, lake, swamp, reservoir, has its particular craft; it is impossible to give credence to a set of tables which declare that in ten large provinces in India, with three smaller ones thrown in to complete the round, there are no more than one hundred thousand boats. One province, that of Berar, watered by such streams as the Wardha, the Poorna, the Aran, the Poos, and the Painigugua, is returned as possessing one single boat. It would be interesting to know the size of this unique specimen, its builder, owner, and the uses to which it is put. But more mortifying is it to find that, from some reason not explained, the Presidency of Bengal could or did, furnish no returns of either cattle, horses and ponies, sheep and goats, carts, ploughs, and bullocks. It is true that in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the administrator has not that staff of petty village officials on which his brethren in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab and elsewhere can generally rely for information of this kind. But Bengal has been under our rule for a century, and no practical difficulty was experienced by Sir William Hunter in

accumulating divers statistics regarding the Lower Provinces for his excellent Gazetteers. However, even when we deduct Bengal from the list, and take no account of the aquatic ichthyophagous population of its eastern and central districts, the Government of India should have shown more discretion than to announce gravely that in seven provinces of India there were not more than 100,000 boats. The number might be trebled or quadrupled without hesitation. The ploughs, by the way, are said to be nine and a half millions, and cattle and buffaloes are put down at forty-four millions. There must be some wild guesses at truth in all this parade of information.

Nothing, however, can be better than that the British Government should resolutely pursue the path of agricultural research, inquiry, and improvement. Such operations will convince the community in time that taxation is not the only object for which a foreign rule exists. Such also relieve the monotony of statistics of crime, and if they tax the patience of the district officer, they at the same time lighten his labour, and present him to the native community in the guise of a benevolent friend and patron, as well as in that of a sharp collector of revenue and a stern minister of justice. Against some hasty generalizations a word of warning may now be given. In Blue Books, and even in recent popular lectures on Indian agriculture, there has been a disposition to treat the native agriculturist as if he were a mere boy. His implements, it is said, are childish ; his mode of cultivation rude and barbarous ; his method unprogressive ; he has no skill, little capital, and intermittent and ill-directed labour ; his intelligence is very limited ; his results are mean and poor. I say unhesitatingly that any such view, in whole or in part, is an utterly mistaken view. Those who have set out with an attempt to instruct and convert the Ryot, have often acknowledged that they had a good deal to learn from him. With his light plough he scratches the soil up, down, and across, six or seven times till the whole is pulverized. His harrow and his

weeding spud are used at the right time. His poverty, and not his will, hinders him from employing manure, but he knows its value, and often uses ashes, sweepings, and cow-dung when it can be spared from fuel. Not to speak of the ordinary cereals and pulses, or wheat and barley, mustard, linseed, and rice, which cover the plain from the edge of one village to another three and four miles off, the substantial tenant-proprietor knows how to get splendid returns from the higher and more expensive products, such as sugar-cane, indigō, tobacco, *pān*, turmeric, and date-palms. Very likely advice, example, and encouragement may induce him to alter or modify some of his rules. He may abstain from the vicious practice of yoking his milch kine to the plough. He may in some instances, when the soil and the rainfall admit of it, practice rotation of crops. He may cultivate some new varieties of seed with success.

Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit.

And a Government which though never absolute, cannot yet cease to be paternal and philanthropic, will best fulfil its own high mission, and consult the interests of Indian agriculture and the supply of the English market, by following and not forcing nature in the promotion of the double object of commercial enterprise and agricultural success.

W. S. SETON-KARR.

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

RECENT Indian papers were filled with the details of a scandal regarding the Punjab University which is unparalleled in the history of any academical institution of the British Empire. The exposure of the misapplication of its funds, which were subscribed for definite purposes, had been stifled by the usual official processes, when peace was again disturbed by revelations of wholesale bribery in the award of university certificates in 1885 and 1886, which no intra-mural combination or condonation could any longer prevent from reaching the public ear. A Commission appointed by the Government of India had to deal with disclosures so damaging to the administration of the Punjab University that the question has of late frequently been asked: What are the aims and objects of the University; how are the original intentions of the founders and donors carried out; what are the benefits derived by the public from the existence of the University; what is its power of promoting popular education; and what are the checks exercised by the governing body on the management of its affairs?

It is not too much to say that what promised to be a great national institution, created and fostered by the Punjab Chiefs and people, has been ruined by the mismanagement which has characterized it since the date when, from an University College, prosperous during twelve years, it became a full university in 1882. The subscriptions and donations to it, which constantly emphasized the popular interest, have practically ceased, whilst the further large endowments promised, if the wishes of the donors were fulfilled, have remained unpaid because these wishes

have been disappointed. Indeed, the charity and public spirit for which the Punjab was notorious have, in other directions also, received a check, and British prestige has generally suffered in the most loyal of provinces in consequence of the justification of mistakes which were worse than crimes; the interest of numerous scholars and of several statesmen in Europe, who followed a movement in favour of learning and research on an Oriental basis, has been trifled with; and if ever a case was made out for an independent inquiry or for a Royal Commission, it is with regard to the misrepresentations by which a people has been deceived and a trust betrayed.

To review these points, it will be necessary to refer first to the state of university education in India twenty-four years ago. In 1864 three universities existed in India, viz., those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, one for each presidency. That of Calcutta influenced public instruction more or less over Bengal proper, the North-west Provinces, Oudh, Ceylon, and the Punjab. The courses prescribed in the different colleges and schools affiliated to the Calcutta University were distinctly regulated by its examinations, but on account of the various component elements of the schools and colleges of the different provinces it became evident, at an early time, that the rules and regulations of the Calcutta University were not quite calculated to satisfy the educational requirements of the major part of the north-west of the Indian Empire. At any rate, those of the Punjab were acknowledged to be in many respects dissimilar to a system devised chiefly for Bengalis. There was, in the first place, the ethnological principle to be considered. The races inhabiting the Punjab were altogether different from those living in the east and north-east of India; they had different tendencies and peculiarities, and, moreover, they were not homogeneous among themselves. In all the more densely-crowded towns the Moghul Empire had left a language common to Hindus and Muhammadans, and this Urdu language, as it is called, was spoken with more or less

purity in all the large centres of commerce. Consequently it was adopted as the court language in place of the well-known Persian, customary under the rule of the predecessors of the East India Company. The accepted normal standard of the language is found in Delhi, and the further west a town is situated from Delhi the more it will be found that dialectic peculiarities have influenced the Urdu tongue.

The masses, chiefly agricultural, on the other hand speak in the eastern and south-eastern portions of the Punjab what is called Hindi, in the central districts Punjabi, in the south Multani, which has many points in common with Punjabi, in the north prevail various peculiar hill dialects, whilst the majority of people on the western frontier use Pushtu. These linguistic divisions are traceable to ethnological factors, but, various as they are, they resolve themselves into two classes, the common bond in each case being religion—Muhammadan or Hindu—one of which regards Arabic and the other Sanscrit as the language of its sacred writings. The Sikhs may also be referred to here. Though ethnologically not different from their Hindu or Muhammadan neighbours, their religious books are written in a language derivative from the Prakrit and their leaders largely promoted the establishment of the Punjab University, partly in order to encourage the cultivation of the Punjabi language and of the Gurmukhi character in which it is written.

It may be said that, among the members of the above communities, all those interested in popular education looked with apprehension, already a quarter of a century ago, on the Anglicizing tendency of the Calcutta University. It was even then recognized that some means ought, if possible, to be devised to stem the ingress of views detrimental to the conservative ideas of the natives of the Punjab. A time was surely, though slowly, approaching when national thought and manliness of character would be modified together with the tastes, and dress, and religion of the more educated Punjabis. The result, it was feared,

would eventually amount to nothing less than a public disaster. This change, often mistaken by the superficial observer for progress, has produced, and is still producing, a grave social and political danger. Large numbers of half-educated men are discontentedly prowling in towns in search of clerkships and other Government appointments; they are unfit by education to take up hereditary occupations, and look down with nothing less than contempt upon the sphere in which their fathers moved and prospered; they rebel against caste restraints which, if not supporting the highest morality, form at least some kind of a barrier to license; they start free-thinking societies; they write grossly libellous articles in native papers against a Government to which they owe everything; and their hostility grows intensified because no Government can ever satisfy all their aspirations. They are perpetually clamouring for political reform unsuited to their requirements. These, and other drawbacks, were foreseen. Accordingly, in the beginning of January, 1865, several influential men founded in Lahore a society called the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*.

Apart from its social views, which were strictly conservative, except when reforms promised to be lasting in their operation and thoroughly acceptable to the people, by the co-operation of the orthodox among the various communities, its political principles were based upon unflinching loyalty to the Government of the country, and its literary object was twofold. Its chief endeavours were directed to a revival of ancient Oriental learning, revered in the East above everything, though, owing to circumstances, falling more and more into decay, and even threatened in time with total extinction unless liberally supported; and, in the next place, to the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of the native community through the medium of the vernacular languages. Under "useful knowledge" was understood, not merely the mysteries of the various trades and industries, but what is now termed "general knowledge," including the "research into the philology, ethnology,

history, and antiquities of India and neighbouring countries." There was no necessity to hold out any encouragement for the study of English, or of mathematics, of the elementary history of Greece, Rome, and England, or even of the mental and physical sciences, taught through the medium of English, as they were already protected and fostered by the Calcutta University. But the Society not only thought it necessary to urge the advancement of general elementary knowledge among the masses through the medium of their respective vernaculars; it also looked to the promotion of industry and commerce as far as this lay in their power; the discussion of social, literary, scientific, and political questions; the popularization of beneficial Government measures; the development of the feeling of loyalty and of a common citizenship in the country; the submission to the Government of practical proposals suggested by the wishes and wants of the people; and, lastly, it desired to bring about the association of the traditional learned and influential classes of the province with the officers of the Government—in other words, the mixing of the rulers with their well-informed subjects. This scope of the Anjuman, it will be seen, was somewhat ambitious, and as wide as its most ardent members could wish. It is the object of this article to give an outline of its educational achievements, with reference to its general elevating influence among the natives of the Punjab. For the present suffice it to say that its actions were not without success, and that it deserved to succeed.

During the first year of its existence the Anjuman was most energetic in its efforts. A free public library and reading-room were opened within the first few months, vernacular and English newspapers were procured for general information on current questions, papers were periodically read and discussions held on a variety of topics, and a lecturer was appointed to give free and popular instruction in Natural Science in the vernacular. Other steps were taken to make the operations and aims of the Society

known to ever-extending circles. An education committee was appointed to encourage the translation of works of literature and science into the vernacular; and this committee it was which, when considering the dissemination of knowledge generally, and the proper method of procedure in that direction, proposed, if possible, to call into existence an Oriental University.

As a consequence of its energy, the attention of Sir D. McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor, was specially turned to the state of education in the Punjab, which had been placed a few years previously under the Education Department. It must be remembered that the then Lieutenant-Governor was an exceptionally able man. Deeply religious, his piety was shown in every act of public and private charity; his sympathy with approved actions and his opposition to whatever he considered reprehensible are known to this day; he was a man, at the same time, of liberal views, a great administrator, a far-seeing politician, a kind-hearted ruler; moreover, he was devoid of all the fads which now-a-days impel doctrinaire radicals in high position to attempt in India the realization of principles so frequently heard on democratic platforms before constituencies in England. His hand was, as it were, on the pulse of the people, and consequently his knowledge of their wants was derived not from the addresses of a few blatant self-constituted leaders of the masses, but from constant and intimate contact with the people themselves. He before any one knew the value of an intimate knowledge of the vernacular of the Punjab, differing in this respect from some of his successors, who could not make themselves understood to an ordinary villager. Sir Donald, through his secretary, addressed a letter on the 10th June, 1865, to the Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab, so important that it deserves mention. He stated that the time had then arrived for the Education Department to take more decided steps than had been done before towards the creation or extension of

a vernacular literature. He alluded to individual persons and literary associations that were furthering this object, and urged the necessity on the part of the Government to take a lead in a matter so intimately connected with the future progress of the Indian nations; and he considered it advisable that a portion of the money devoted to educational purposes should be yearly set apart for the prosecution of this important work.

This, then, was the first official recognition by the Punjab Government of the necessity of making an attempt to link together the literature and science of the West with the vernaculars of the Punjab. Very little of this large-hearted aim has been carried into effect, though to a limited extent with reference to the Urdu language something has been done by the Education Department of the Punjab. Books in Urdu have certainly been produced, and so far as they go they are good, but they are all more or less elementary in character, and only suitable for boys in public schools. The Department, it may be remarked, has failed to push on education through the medium of Urdu beyond a standard equivalent to the seventh of the English code, mainly for two reasons, as some of its advocates allege, viz., the impossibility of translating scientific terms accurately into the vernacular, especially in chemistry and botany; and, secondly, the total absence of all popular demand for a collegiate education conducted through a vernacular language. The opponents of the departmental view, on the other hand, are of opinion that the absence of such a demand is caused by the half-hearted manner in which the adaptation, or even the actual adoption, of English scientific terms has been carried out. The real cause of failure lies in the want of sympathy with a movement which would have probably resulted in putting a stop to the denationalization of the younger generation of educated Punjabis; in the indifference on the part of educational officers to native vernacular and classical languages, some of their prominent members being unable

to carry on a conversation with a native on an intelligent subject; in their ignorance of the science of education as understood in Europe; and, finally, in their disposition to take things easily. Their whole power was in consequence eventually so thrown into the scale of purely English higher education, that the time has probably now passed when a native could receive a thorough professional education in his own language—the main *raison d'être* of the Punjab University.

Great as was the importance of receiving the encouragement to one feature of their scheme from the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the Anjuman never relaxed their energy in continuing the agitation in favour of the proposed University. Public meetings were held both in Lahore and other large centres of comparative influence, in order to strengthen the hands of the leading men in the capital, and an address was presented by the Rases (nobles) of Lahore and Amritsar to Sir Donald McLeod, in the latter part of 1865. As this paper is of more than ephemeral interest, a few points alluded to in it may be noted. Reference was made to the advisability of possessing, from the very beginning of the foundation of the University, a catholic basis which, permanent in itself, would allow of a healthy and liberal development. The teaching of all subjects in the future University on a critical method was proposed—a hit no doubt directed against the mere reading of textbooks prevalent generally in the colleges connected with the Calcutta University; and the importance of translating English works on science into the vernaculars was insisted upon, in order to carry out the original conception of vernacular education to a high standard. The aim, may it be stated once more, was to reach the people and to attract them to schools where education would be conveyed through the medium of their own languages. English was not forgotten, but no special stress was laid on this subject, considering that it received everywhere in India more than its fair share of support, although it was

acknowledged that its study would facilitate the sound acquisition of learning, and would enable the Punjabis to reap for their country those very advantages of scientific and linguistic education which have been gained by other countries. As subjects of tuition, the introduction of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Gurmukhi were proposed in the teaching part of the university. The complete realization of these projects was in the future, but in order to effect it the address submitted the propriety on the part of the Government of making an endowment by the grant of a Jagir (the assignment of the revenue from certain landed property) upon the University, to confer on it the power of giving titles, diplomas, and degrees, and to open the gates of public employment to such of its alumni as had passed certain prescribed examinations. The reply made by Sir Donald on the 2nd February, 1866, reviewed the state of education at the time being, and stated as his opinion that no serious effort had been hitherto made to employ the languages of India as a medium for imparting the knowledge which European nations most value. He characterized the contrary principles, adopted under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck in 1835, as a scheme likely to cause much dissatisfaction, as being too exclusive and practically ungenerous to the people. He avowed himself one of the number who considered the lines upon which education had been carried on up to that time a mistake, inasmuch as the great bulk of the Indian scholars, notwithstanding some brilliant exceptions, never attained to more than a very superficial knowledge either of English or of the subjects they studied in that language, while the mental training imparted was, as a rule, ill calculated to raise a nation to habits of vigorous and independent thought. He pointed to England, where instruction was conveyed to students of Latin and Greek and science in the vernacular of the country. He adverted to the hopes of a past generation that a study of English in India would create a

vernacular literature, the necessity of which plan was early lost sight of, so that as regards Urdu and Hindi little or no progress had been made towards the attainment of this end. He felt, in fact, that no original or copious vernacular literature could be produced until special efforts were made. Most of all, he dwelt on the political aspect of the case when speaking of "the defect, which I myself more especially deplore, in the system of instruction at present almost exclusively followed, viz., that it has tended, though not intentionally, to alienate from us in a great measure the learned men of your race. Little or nothing has been done to conciliate them, while their literature and science have been virtually ignored. The consequence has been that the men of the most cultivated minds amongst our race and yours have remained but too often widely apart. . . . This is, in my opinion, very much to be lamented, and where a different policy has been pursued by individuals, following the bent of their own instincts and striving to attain a better knowledge of those by whom they are surrounded, I have myself witnessed the most remarkable and gratifying results." In concluding, Sir Donald expressed a promise to aid the efforts of the Anjuman by a material grant of money, and hoped that its members would not relax their efforts, in spite of the difficulties which would present themselves. The Anjuman at that time was in an unusually good position to judge of the requirements of the country in regard to education ; it was presided over by Dr. Leitner, the Principal of the Lahore Government College ; and Mr. Aitchison, the lately retired Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, whose connection with the movement was short, but distinguished ; Mr. Brandreth, subsequently Judge of the Chief Court ; Mr. Griffin, at present Agent to the Governor-General in Central India ; Mr. T. H. Thornton, and other eminent officials, were among the more prominent European members of the Association. It must, however, be borne in mind that in 1865, as in 1885 (when he returned to the province as

Lieutenant-Governor), Mr. Aitchison was opposed to the Oriental School founded by the Anjuman as a nucleus for the future Oriental University, and that his idea of an University was chiefly a teaching college and some travelling fellowships, opinions pressed on the Chiefs, but never accepted by them or carried out to this day. Briefly, during 1865, 1866, and 1867, the society continued to do much towards the furtherance of their designs, and cleared the way for again pressing forward their schemes when a fitting occasion should arise.

The movement which had made such progress in Lahore, was followed by similar efforts elsewhere. The British Indian Association of the North-western Provinces joined warmly in advocating educational reform. A large society was formed at Delhi, and several smaller ones in the outlying districts in the province. The former of these memorialized the Viceroy, stating, among other things, that owing to the prominence given to the study of English, education had not penetrated below the surface of the population; they were far from advocating the exclusive study of Oriental languages, with their effete arts and sciences, but considered it necessary that the vernaculars should be used as a channel of communicating Western knowledge; besides, the study of the Oriental classics so dear to the people might be profitably encouraged without affecting the advancement of English learning. Mr. Aitchison himself, the Secretary to the Punjab Government, pointed out the difficulties of imparting a sound English training to boys in Upper India, and referred to the unwillingness of the Calcutta University to make any changes or concessions, and supported the movement for establishing a separate university. Subsequently, in March, 1868, a general meeting was convened, and it was considered that a university should be exclusively established for the Punjab, that it should be located at Lahore, that it should be a teaching body as well as an examining body, and that the governors should consist of

an *ex-officio* chancellor, a vice-chancellor, and a council or senate. At an adjourned meeting two additional resolutions were passed, viz., that education be conveyed, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular, and that the chief honours of the university be reserved for those who attained the highest form of education (which for a time was limited to English-speaking students). The university should also recognize and honour literary merit and learning in the case of those unacquainted with the English language.

These details will suffice to show on what lines the future education, especially the higher education of the Punjab, was to proceed. Unfortunately for the country, they were in after years partly forgotten, and when not forgotten, the principles were so obscured by the introduction of side issues, by the vastness of the operations of the university as an examining body, by the inability of European men of standing to keep in sight the political issue of the matter, and the general incapacity of some of the higher educational officers to grasp the vernaculars of the Punjab sufficiently, and to identify their sphere of work with the best interests of natives, that we now begin to see in the Punjab the educated natives turning disaffected to the Government, and disappointed place-hunters.

Meanwhile, so earnest were the Anjuman at Lahore and its affiliated branches, that several appeals made to the native chiefs and notables on behalf of the proposed Oriental University resulted in the collection of considerable funds. It is to be understood that the Anjuman effected their purpose practically unaided. In India hardly any movement is able to secure success where the collection of money is concerned, unless the Government lend their help or authority, although one or two instances to the contrary are on record. The response to the appeals of the Anjuman is one of these instances. Generous endowments soon made their appearance, though to avoid future mistakes they were accompanied by well-

defined conditions. Thus we find that Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir made a donation of Rs. 62,300, equivalent in those days to about £6,200, for the encouragement of the "ulúm-i-dêsi," or the learning and sciences of the country, by which was meant the revival of the indigenous sciences and of classical Oriental literature, as also the promotion of every kind of knowledge by means of the vernaculars. The Maharaja accepted the proposed catholic basis of the Oriental University to be started in the Punjab. The Secretary to the Punjab Government, in a letter dated January 18, 1868, thanked the Maharaja in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor for his munificent donation, and specially acknowledged that the amount would be devoted solely to the purpose of diffusing "literature and sciences through the medium of the Indian tongues." The question has been lately asked, what was meant by the term "ulúm-i-dêsi"? It has been stated that the Maharaja himself did not know what he expressed in his letter, though in subsequent communications he characterized the proposed university as the "University of Arabic and Sanskrit." An eye-witness mentions that the ruler of Kashmir expressed an opinion that the Oriental College, as conducted prior to 1882, fulfilled the intentions of the founders of the university, and, shortly before his death in 1885, he publicly protested against the breach of faith as regards the funds intended for Oriental purposes by the present Punjab University! With regard to this very donation, the Secretary of State for India, in his letter to the Governor-General of India, said that he had brought the example of the Maharaja's liberality to the notice of Her Majesty the Queen. And it certainly proved an example, for other great chiefs and men of position were not loth to contribute according to their means for the establishment of a National Oriental University. The Raja of Kapurthala, for instance, in February, 1868, endowed the proposed University, or "Bait-ul-U'lûm" (House of Sciences), with £200 a year,

which sum was subsequently compounded for by a donation of Rs. 10,000 ; and in April the Maharaja of Patiala came forward with a subscription of £5,000, and the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind with £1,000, and the Sardár of Kalsia with £300, the purpose to which the proceeds of the endowments were to be devoted being the same.

It is needless to enter further into a detailed account of the support of the leading men of the Punjab to the movement, but it is right to note that the sympathy towards encouraging the study of Oriental classics and the cultivation of Western knowledge, not through English, but by means of the vernaculars of the Punjab, was not merely confined to empty words. And if ever material support was a proof of real feeling in promoting the objects above stated, these instances of liberality afford ample confirmation of the view that the Chiefs of the Punjab, as far as they took an interest in public education, approved of the principles initiated by the Anjuman at Lahore.

Considering, however, that the impossibility of establishing an University without the aid and sanction of Government was recognized from the very beginning, it was necessary to frame a scheme which the Government of India would accept; and to represent that the proposals brought forward at certain meetings were publicly announced and were well-known, and that the meetings referred to were thoroughly representative. Mr. Thornton, the then Secretary to the Punjab Government, accordingly addressed, in May, 1868, a letter to the Supreme Government of India, stating that a strong desire existed in the Punjab on the part of a large number of the chiefs, nobles, and educated classes for the establishment of a system of education which would give greater encouragement to the communication of knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars, to the development of a vernacular literature, and to the study of Oriental classics, than was afforded by the then existing system, a system framed to meet the requirements of the university of Calcutta. The opinion of officers holding

high positions in the education department of the Punjab was said to be to the effect that the Calcutta University was not adapted to the educational requirements of the province, inasmuch as it did not give a sufficiently prominent position to Oriental studies, regarded English too exclusively as the channel through which instruction must be conveyed, and prescribed a mode of examination which was calculated to raise superficial rather than sound scholars. The governing body of that university had moreover expressed their unwillingness to modify its system so as to meet the wishes of the native community and educational officers of the Punjab. Besides, even were the Calcutta University to consent to carry out a thorough reform, the area over which its operations extended was too vast, and the populations too varied, to admit of its properly fulfilling the duties devolved upon it. The strong desire of the Chiefs and people of the Punjab was brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, asking for a separate university, constituted on principles more in harmony with the wishes of the people. To prove the earnestness of this request, a sum of nearly Rs. 99,000 had been collected. In short, including subscriptions of a periodical nature, there was a prospect of an annual income from private sources amounting to Rs. 21,000. Next a complete scheme of the governing body, their powers, and an outline of regulations, were sketched, and the names of those chiefly deserving of praise for their energy in the cause of the movement were submitted to Government.

Henceforth the difficulties in the way of the establishment of the university disappeared one after the other. The Governor-General in Council replied that he was fully sensible of the value of the spontaneous efforts which had been made by the community of the Punjab, and recommended the proposed scheme to the Secretary of State for India with some slight modifications. As, however, the institution might perhaps confer degrees of a lower character than those given by other universities in India, His Excellency

considered that such a result would be injurious, and thought that the institution should, then at least, not possess the power of granting degrees, but certificates only, and be called the "University College, Lahore." Finally, on the 5th of August, 1869, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the establishment of the University College, holding out a hope that it might afterwards, if successful, be expanded into a university. In December, 1869, a notification containing the constitutions and statutes of the University College were issued, but the name, by subsequent Government resolutions and orders, was altered into the "Punjab University College, Lahore," as expressing more clearly the national character of the institution. The governing body of the institution was the Senate, composed of an *ex-officio* president, viz., the Lieutenant-Governor, the vice-president to be nominated by the president, a number of Government officers appointed *ex-officio* members, representatives of independent chiefs who had contributed to the endowment, and, lastly, members appointed by the president on the ground of being eminent benefactors of the institution, original promoters of the movement or persons distinguished for attainments in literature and sciences, or zeal in the cause of education. It will be patent to any one acquainted with India, and the ever-shifting character of Indian officials, that the constitution of this governing body carried within it the seeds of decay. So long as the majority of the first-appointed members were able to act in the deliberations of the Senate, keeping in mind the original views of the promoters, all would go fairly well, but as soon as new men replaced those removed by death or retirement, or the appointments to the Senate were made as an honour conferred upon an individual apart from his educational fitness, the old ideas and aims would be cast to the winds, and the University College would sink to the very level of a machinery passing ephemeral and contradictory resolutions. On this point something may be said later on.

The Government of India likewise empowered the Senate to confer after examination certificates of proficiency in literature and science; to expend the income at its disposal according to certain provisos laid down; and, lastly, to form regulations, passing or altering them by a majority of the Senate, with the final control of the President. These regulations embrace the whole work of Punjab University College. For obvious reasons there is no necessity for reproducing them, but one point requires special mention, as it became subsequently a cause of strife in the Punjab University College, and turned its action insensibly into a totally different groove. After stating that proficiency in Arabic or Sanskrit, or such other Oriental language as may be prescribed by the governing body, combined with a thorough acquaintance with English, shall be necessary for the acquisition of the highest honours of the institution, the regulations went on to say that provision should be made first for the recognition of proficiency in literature and science in the case of those unacquainted with English, provided such attainments were combined with a fair acquaintance with the more important subjects of European education, such as history, geography, &c., so far as such acquaintance was obtainable through the medium of the vernacular, and, secondly, for duly recognizing and honouring proficiency in English, unaccompanied by a knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic. To the casual observer these aims seem unexceptionable indeed, but it is only necessary to remark that at that time vernacular text-books on science were almost absent, to show how easy it would be for a future generation to slacken their efforts in this direction in order to maintain the impossibility of teaching sciences, &c., in the vernacular, and to confine their chief attention to the purely English part of the scheme propounded, thus gradually adopting by degrees the platform of the Calcutta University, whose shortcomings the Punjab University College was avowedly founded to remedy. The original promoters had

hoped to see a purely Oriental university; they saw realized an institution which, sooner or later, would give prominence to an education which was already making vast strides, and required no special help, in the Punjab, where the influence of the Calcutta University was already exercised and its utility was recognized in its own way.

The work of the Punjab University College for the next four years was of a progressive nature, many steps being simply tentative. In that time schemes of examinations in arts and Oriental languages were drawn up, the Oriental school already called into existence by the Anjuman, was expanded into a college and a superintendent appointed to it; a Law School was opened, and the Lahore Medical School affiliated to the University College. The Senate elected from its body qualified members to form various faculties in arts, Oriental languages, law, medicine, &c.; examinations were held and certificates granted to successful candidates. The Government of India had conceded to the people of the Punjab a great privilege, viz., the power of directing and controlling to some extent the popular education of the province in its higher branches. This gift was acknowledged with gratitude at the time, but it was publicly stated that the realization of the idea which at first excited the enthusiasm of the more prominent men in the Punjab—the revival of national and Oriental learning by means of a great university, which should draw to itself students from all parts of the East—was denied them. One of the most prominent members of the Anjuman, a gentleman now holding a high political office under the Government of India, and an acknowledged authority on the history of the Punjab, showed that “the object for which the Maharajas, Rajas, Chiefs, and the people of the Punjab have subscribed so largely, and to which they have devoted so much thought and time, was the creation of a university.” He pointed out the inadvisability of allowing the existing enthusiasm to die out, and hoped the Viceroy would soon be able to concede

to the newly-established University College the power of granting Oriental degrees and titles of honour. Sir Donald McLeod, however, counselled patience, and as he appealed to the better feelings of his subjects, he found that those who could act when occasion required could likewise trust. The members of the Anjuman were specially called upon, and with them all who had taken a prominent part in the interesting and important movement of creating a national "University College," to aid him in forming a Senate, which, while fairly representing the wishes and feelings of the intelligent classes of the people, would be efficient for educational purposes. They were likewise to waive the objections lately raised, and consent to the proposed arrangement being allowed a fair trial.

Henceforth, therefore, the Anjuman's power was restricted. (It ceased, practically, at a later date, after the University College had expanded in 1882 into a university with power to confer degrees.) The members of the first Senate may be generally classed into men who interested themselves in nothing but Oriental education, *i.e.*, Oriental classics and general knowledge, and mathematics taught in their own vernacular; secondly, in a small number who wished to see concurrently a sound development of English education, so as to raise up a useful and loyal generation, without subjecting it to the temptation of denationalization; and, thirdly, an increasing number of those who knew nothing about Oriental classics and vernaculars, and cared less. The first Presidents of the Punjab University College (Sir Robert Egerton and Sir Henry Davies) belonged to the second class.

Whilst the ordinary routine work of the University College was performed under the regulations sanctioned by the Government, efforts were made at every available opportunity to raise the status of the institution. Lord Lytton held out a hope of the final realization early in 1877, after an address had been presented to him by the Anjuman. Again in November, 1880, the Senate of the Punjab

University College, headed by its President, Sir Robert Egerton, and by H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, waited upon the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, at his camp in Lahore, in order to press the matter on his notice. The Senate hoped they would receive from His Excellency the same support which had been accorded to them by every successive Viceroy from the day when Lord Lawrence's cordial sympathy and liberal aid first convinced the Chiefs of the Punjab of the appreciation of their efforts on behalf of *Oriental Learning* by the Government of India, and they trusted they might ask the Viceroy to aid them in the fulfilment of their earnest hopes. After a brief statement of the work of the University College the following passage occurs in the address, showing that the original idea of Oriental education had not been lost sight of: "A generous encouragement of English is fully consistent with the due encouragement of studies in the national languages, though it was for the development of the *latter* that the 3½ lakhs, which constitute our endowment, were so liberally subscribed by the Punjab Chiefs and gentry. The Senate have no doubt that the proper development of studies in the national languages is the method most calculated to make education really popular; and this is the aim both of the Senate and the Indian Government." Lord Ripon, in his reply, expressed his high appreciation of the liberality which had distinguished the princes and the chiefs of the Punjab in coming forward to promote the establishment of a national university; he stated his opinion that it was undoubtedly desirable to promote the cultivation and extension of Oriental languages and Oriental literature, and thought it was through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab that science and literature could most easily be advanced. He moreover won the hearts of his audience by a promise to consult their wishes at an early opportunity. The speech was a great success, and to this day Lord Ripon's friendly sentiments are remembered in the Punjab, when his general policy of Indian govern-

ment, including his doubtful gift to India of local self-government, is discussed.

When the University College was at length raised to the status of a full University, it was unfortunate that Dr. Leitner, under whose guiding spirit the institution had preserved that unity of action which characterized it from the beginning, was absent on furlough in England. The acting Registrar, his *locum tenens*, was a man of no university training, nor was he perhaps supported by such professional educationists as combined a sympathy for native advancement with Oriental learning. Accordingly the old landmarks of the old Anjuman-i-Punjab were left, and the Calcutta University, with some slight modifications, became a kind of model which the Punjab might advantageously follow. The anglicizing tendency which had meanwhile set in was at full play when the final rules and regulations were formulated and submitted to Government for sanction. The Chancellor of the University was Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being, and the late Vice-Chancellor was his nominee. The Senate consisted of a large number of Fellows, partly elected, partly appointed by the Chancellor. Under the Senate, the governing body, was the Syndicate, consisting of any member who might wish to attend its meetings, and the various faculties, *e.g.*, Oriental learning, Arts, Medicine, Law, and Engineering. The funds formerly placed in the hands of a Trustee were made over to the university. The Oriental College, the sole remnant of the original idea of an Oriental teaching university, was placed under a committee, directly responsible to the Senate. The work of the university was mainly confined to holding examinations, chief of which was the series connected with Arts, in which the vernaculars of the province did *not* enter! The matriculation examination was called the Entrance examination, after which the First Arts, the Bachelor of Arts, and the Master of Arts examinations were held. Subordinate to the entrance examination was the Middle School examination,

also conducted by the university, equal to the seventh standard of Board Schools under the English Code. The purely Oriental side was represented by the examination of Master of Oriental Learning and the three examinations subordinate to it, by three examinations each in Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian, and by various other examinations to test the proficiency of scholars attending special classes in Oriental laws, medicine, &c. Broadly, it may be said, that the aims of the founders had not been neglected as far as the paper constitution of the Punjab University was concerned. Provision was made for carrying on the original ideas of promoting Oriental classics and the teaching of European sciences through the medium of Urdu and Hindi, and the sum apportioned by the university for this purpose was apparently adequate. But what those complained of who, more than twenty years ago banded together for instituting an educational machinery in the Punjab sufficient to resist the flood of the denationalization of educated natives, was this, that with all the checks exercised now by the Punjab University by means of its examinations, the education of the people had more than ever drifted into the hands of the Education Department, and this Department cared little or nothing for the higher vernacular education.

And what is this department? It is presided over by a Director of Public Instruction, an officer of the Bengal Staff Corps. He is at the same time an Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government. That is to say, in his capacity as Director he prescribes the various courses of studies in the public schools in the Punjab after consultation, no doubt, with his subordinates and other persons interested in education; he arranges for the efficient inspection of schools and the teaching of colleges, and looks to the advancement of those that serve under him; he is supposed to exercise a vigilant care for the production if not of vernacular literature, at least of vernacular school books. On the other hand, in his capacity as Under-Secretary to Government in the Education Department he

has to take his orders from the Lieutenant-Governor. These duties are perhaps not always contradictory, and an exceptionally strong man with a long Indian experience like his might be powerful enough to lead the highest authority in the province in a right direction. Unfortunately, however, it is an open secret that he is too weak to make much impression upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and adopts the ideas of his superior in matters educational, rather than imparts a tone of common sense and thoroughness to the views of the Lieutenant-Governor. Certainly his position is fraught with many difficulties.

The education of the province, leaving out of question the Oriental College which is, as already mentioned, under the Punjab University, and the numerous indigenous schools sprinkled over the country, is carried on in schools which are regularly inspected and conform to certain rules embodied in the Punjab codes. To the outside world this appears as good a piece of machinery as can be devised, but those who fall under its grinding wheels complain that it is deficient. The codes are unintelligible to many, if not most of the managers, and the inspectors are declared to be frequently unfit for their work. Thus, for instance, at the present moment two of them whose duties extend to vernacular schools where the four books of Euclid are taught in the vernacular language as well as geography, history, the elements of chemistry, and physics, are hardly able to carry on an ordinary conversation on any intelligent subject either in Urdu, Hindi, or Punjabi, and yet these two gentlemen were placed, though only temporarily, in their position by the Director of Public Instruction. The gentleman specially appointed to the principalship of the Native Training College at Lahore for teachers is noted as a poor linguist, and does not profess to be learned in the Science of Teaching. An English graduate was appointed for some time principal of the Oriental College under the university, without the pretence even of an elementary knowledge of one of the Oriental classics, much to the scandal of educated natives. Most,

if not all of these appointments were made at the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction. And yet these men are by no means incapable of doing good work. When first appointed to their respective duties no possible exception could be made, for they were selected for the proper performance of their work. The fault lies in the system of placing square men in round holes, and the want of perception on the part of the controlling authority regarding their exact power. Another grave and serious defect in the Education Department, which has now continued for a long time, is that the majority of its members are appointed to the superior posts without possessing, as a rule, even the most rudimentary acquaintance of the science of teaching. Until some provision is made to compel all its officers, whether employed in supervising or in actually carrying out instructional work in schools and colleges composed of native students, to undergo a certain amount of professional training, nothing can be expected in the way of thorough progress. Hitherto it has been only a groping in the dark, the knowledge dearly purchased by the experience of the older officers of the education department being lost to those that follow their footsteps. Dilettantism is the bane of the department, and there are signs that the university is affected by the same disease.

The Senate of the Punjab University to a great extent gives the tone to the higher education, inasmuch as it prescribes among other things the courses for the different examinations, and yet it is now, for the most part, composed of men who, whatever their social or official standing, know hardly anything about practical or theoretical education beyond possessing some imaginary notions on the subject. The Senate decides by vote questions sent up by the Syndicate, the Syndicate works through committees, and the committees rely on one or two members who are willing to put the matter set before them into some practical shape. Unfortunately zeal counts for more than specific knowledge in these committees. A ludicrous instance occurred not

long since. English text-books for a certain examination had to be fixed, and a most energetic member, a young English journalist, who owed his fellowship of the Punjab University to the nomination of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, proposed among other books "Vathek" as being in his opinion specially adapted for students of the East, because it was classical in style as well as instructive in matter, and Oriental in colouring. Curiously the book was accepted, the Lord Bishop of the Punjab assenting to the proposal in the good faith that the proposer knew what he was talking about.

Another instance of the happy-go-lucky style which pervades most institutions in India, occurred comparatively recently. When Dr. Leitner returned in December, 1884, after an absence of a couple of years, to Lahore, to resume, among other duties, that of the Registrarship of the Punjab University, he found that a few donations had been spent, instead of being funded, and he brought the matter to the notice of the Senate. This body had already been irritated by a letter from one of the original founders of the Punjab University, complaining that the Oriental features of the Institution for which alone funds were subscribed were being destroyed by the Senate. This letter was never allowed to be discussed in Syndicate or Senate, as its statements were practically unanswerable; but Sir Charles Aitchison, as Lieutenant-Governor, took the opportunity of indirectly replying to them in certain Punjab Government Resolutions, which were intended to show that, if there had been any misapplications of funds, it was because they had been too largely devoted to the Oriental side! At the same time, the documents quoted by the Resolutions in support of this view show that *all* the money had been subscribed for Oriental purposes. Indeed, the Punjab University was to be an Institution *sui generis* for the revival of dying or neglected learning, but not conflicting with any existing organization for the promotion of English studies, indeed recognizing them, though not spending out of its small

funds any sum on what was already amply provided for by the Education Department and by the self-interest of natives who seek public employment, for which a knowledge of English is required. It may be added, that the specific charges made by Dr. Leitner regarding the misapplication of certain defined funds have never been answered, though the Resolutions seem to reply to him, whilst in reality they attempt, most unsuccessfully it is true, to reply to the *general* charge of the departure from its original principles which another distinguished Fellow of the University had brought to notice, but who was too high an official to be attacked with impunity. The following letter addressed to Lord Dufferin places the matter in a compact form :—

[Written in January, 1886, and submitted with all the necessary papers bearing on it to the Secretary of the Viceroy. The letter was also subsequently ratified by a large Anjuman meeting in August, 1886, and signed by the original secretaries and many other native promoters and donors of the University in 1865 and 1866-67 and subsequent years.]

"To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Frederick-Temple Hamilton-Temple, Earl of Dufferin, K.P., &c., &c., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Patron of the Punjab University.

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship's sense of the responsibilities of a Patron of an Institution is so great that I am encouraged to bring to your notice what I consider to be a series of deviations from the principles of the Punjab University, of which you are officially the Patron. I do not impute bad intentions to any one among those from whom I have the misfortune to differ ; but I consider that the facts which I have to bring to your notice are beyond controversy and only require to be submitted to an independent body in order to ascertain whether they are correct, and, if so, whether it is politically wise to allow the im-

pression to be deepened that Government has taken the money of the Chiefs and people given for one object and appropriated it to another. Your Lordship's generous resolution regarding Muhammadan endowments allows me to hope that you will approach the matter, which I have to bring before you, with the same generous and impartial consideration ; and that, although it may be difficult to discover the truth among the official and other interests that have obscured it, it will be possible for your Lordship to arrive at a solution that may at any rate prevent the further alienation of funds to purposes for which they were never intended. I feel myself in a very serious and delicate position as having been the inspirer of, by far, the larger portion of the gifts which I solicited and received on conditions, all of which I consider to have been broken in the spirit, if not the letter. The fact of my being practically the founder of the University with Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin, and the acknowledged interpreter of the wishes of the Chiefs and of the community that so liberally responded to our appeals, must in itself give some weight to my representations.

"The Punjab University was established in order to revive the study of the ancient classical Oriental Literature in this country, to spread the knowledge of European science among the masses by means of their vernaculars, to develop these vernaculars through their ancient sources, the Arabic and the Sanscrit, and to associate the men of traditional Oriental learning in this country and the natural leaders of the people with the Government in the control and direction of education. Its ambition was to make education national and, at the same time, to identify its recipients with the Government in the feeling of a common State-citizenship, cemented by all the existing sacred associations which encourage loyalty and veneration,—in short, to develop "the State-idea" in this country on an indigenous basis and with sufficient adaptability to modern requirements,—above all, not to allow the ancient literary treasures

of this country to perish, and to preserve at least a small group of scholars to co-operate with those of Europe in objects of a common research. The Punjab University, being therefore an institution *sui generis*, it was considered essential from the beginning that only those should be admitted to its governing body who could declare their adhesion to the principles on which it was founded ; that they should be donors to, or promoters of, the movement in its favour, or persons eminent in Literature (especially Oriental), Science and Art as proved by published works;—in short, that the Punjab University should not be an institution with an uncertain and changing policy, but that its objects and endowments should be strictly confined to those aims which commended themselves to the founders as those which alone could combine progress with stability in an Oriental country. In addition to these general principles, specific promises were made and funds were received for specific purposes, and it is my duty to point out that these have either been ignored or violated, and that, at the very time that our efforts have been rewarded with the most striking success in the production of works of merit, and in such a development of the vernacular as to satisfy the highest academical standards, a re-action has now set in under the influence of those who have been admitted to the Senate without the necessary qualifications prescribed by the Punjab University Act of 1882. If your Lordship, as Patron, would call for a list of the persons appointed by Government since 1883, it will at once be seen that the appointment of the great majority of them is not in accordance with the spirit and letter of the conditions prescribed by the Act, which was avowedly passed in fulfilment, and not in frustration, of the principles of the University movement. The persons referred to were not donors or promoters of the movement ; indeed, several of them were notoriously opposed to it, whilst others were educational subordinate officers of no distinction or merit. Nor can it be alleged with regard to any of them that they are eminent in

Literature, Science and Art, except by an improper use of these terms, nor can their "zeal in the cause of education" be proved by tangible instances of educational philanthropy. Should the present re-action continue, the supply of funds for educational purposes, given by the spontaneous liberality of an awakened people, will cease. Whatever may be the clamour in favour of English education, and the advantages which it brings, the people will not endow what they know is self-supporting, what Government already liberally fosters, and what appeals, not to the traditional motives of liberality that have led to the foundation of innumerable indigenous schools in this country, but to those personal interests which, while all acknowledge, none feel inclined to support for the benefit of others. Besides, in proportion as an institution is officially governed, in that proportion will the people leave the expense of its management to be borne by the Government. It will, of course, always be possible in this country, under official pressure, to raise funds for anything in which the rulers for the time being may profess to take an interest; but these funds are not always cheerfully given, and they never possess the vitality of contributions given for purposes which the people themselves cherish, such as, I maintain, was the case with the donations and subscriptions bestowed on the Punjab University, which were solicited by methods and for objects that were Oriental, and, therefore, alone intelligible to the people. The Punjab University, by being true to its original principles, would have become the only Oriental University in the world, would have clashed with no other existing University or interests, and would have been supported by all throughout India and other Oriental countries, not to speak of European Governments, interested in Oriental education. It would thus have become a wealthy institution, capable of giving the most generous encouragement to knowledge of every kind, including that of English as an accomplishment and as a means for prosecuting comparative and critical studies. Instead of this consummation, the institution is, owing to

the management of those only partially acquainted with its history, being brought to the eve of bankruptcy, from which only a large Government grant can rescue it, whilst the inevitable and proper increase of its operations will remain a constant and growing charge on Government instead of being mainly borne by the contributions of a willing people. In other words, the first and greatest fulfilment of the principles of the Secretary of State's Educational Despatch of 1854, which had taken place in India in the establishment of the National Punjab University, has now been arrested, whilst the present management of the Punjab University inspires the most serious misgivings among those who feel their honour pledged in carrying out the conditions on which they solicited and received subscriptions.

"The Oriental College which your Lordship honoured with a visit, that I believe still lives in your memory as one of great interest and instructiveness, will soon lose its special characteristics under a Committee of Management, the majority of which are not scholars, and are opposed to Oriental learning. Some of the members were also elected in an unconstitutional manner. The Oriental College is the embodiment of the idea of a teaching Oriental University, which was held out to the Native Donors under the designations of a 'Mahavidyala' and 'Beyt-ul-u'lum,' for to them the name and functions of an European University were unknown. I have failed, however, in my attempts to impress on the majority of the present Managing Committee of the institution that, whatever may be their private views, they are bound to carry out the objects for which the College has been established and the funds collected, and for which the Committee itself has been constituted.

"I cannot describe to your Lordship the mortification and disappointment which the surviving donors still feel at the manner in which their gifts have been treated, and at the prospect before them of further misapplication. The spirit which now deals with our endowments is the same spirit that advocates their alienation from original purposes in

Europe, and that, in my humble opinion, thereby destroys the feeling that induces men to make endowments ; it is the spirit of those who wish to reap where others have sown, and to carry out their own views with the money of others.

“ Those who wish to remove all the landmarks of the past for the sake of untried notions—

“ As the world were now but to begin,
Antiquity forgot, custom unknown,”

are not the men who are likely to entertain my appeal, but I have full confidence that your Lordship will accord to my remarks and the papers which accompany them your careful consideration ; and that you will order an investigation that will devise a remedy for the deplorable condition of affairs which, added to other circumstances, marks the decay of whatever is good in British influence in this frontier province.

“ The following is a brief enumeration of the breaches of faith and the special misapplications, regarding which it seems to be impossible to obtain redress, except from your Lordship.

“ *First*, then, it was promised to the contributing Chiefs that the Queen should be the first Patron of the University ; and, although Her Majesty graciously condescends to accept that office in connection with institutions of far less importance than the first national University in India, founded by the enterprize of the people, the promise of *asking* her to become the patron has not yet been fulfilled.

“ *Second*.—The native Chiefs and principal donors were to be the Governors of the institution. This has not been done : indeed, their representatives have been deliberately excluded from the Oriental College Managing Committee, and have no power in the Syndicate or Senate regarding the disposal of their masters' contributions, nor were they made members of the recent Committee of Enquiry into the allegations that certain funds contributed by some of these States had been improperly applied.

“ *Third*.—The appointment of the opponents of the

University as Fellows of its Senate has been made under the mistaken belief of conciliating them, but has merely introduced an element of discord which is the real cause of the donors not carrying out their promise of affording greater assistance to the University on its due fulfilment of the pledges made at its inception. One of the Chiefs, who had Rs. 100,000 ready to give for one of the purposes of the University, stated to me that he would have nothing to do with an institution in which unknown men, or who had been opposed to Oriental literature, now ruled. Other large sums have similarly been lost.

Fourth.—The proceedings in the Senate and Syndicate and the Faculties are not primarily conducted through the medium of the Vernacular, as they should certainly be in a body in which the 'Oriental' is declared to be the 'Premier Faculty.' Indeed, the proceedings of Syndicate and Faculties are not translated into the vernacular at all, so that the Rules and Regulations which were framed in 1883 and 1884, without the previous knowledge of, and discussion by, the members unacquainted with English, have little validity, whilst the results arrived at in connection with the recent financial enquiries are valueless, since they were neither read out in vernacular nor in English, much less discussed, and were not translated and circulated in the vernacular before decisions nominally based on them, but really prepared beforehand by an official, were arrived at.

Fifth.—I have seen native members treated with disrespect. I have seen them vote in favour of the view of some leading official without their being told what they were voting for. Some have complained to me that they would lose their appointment, a prospect of a grant of land or a case in Court, if they voted according to their convictions, and others that they would obtain a grant of land if they voted against them. At least, one thing is clear that, instead of questions being calmly and deliberately discussed at Meetings, they have been generally decided beforehand at the dictation of an official clique.

"*Sixth.*—Instead of giving greater facilities to the Oriental side, for which all the money has been received, and larger scholarships to those whose learning, however necessary to the country, is not personally so remunerative as English, the Oriental Examinations are made more difficult than the corresponding ones on the English side, and the Oriental scholarships awarded are fewer in number and less in amount than those given to the side for which there already exist ample prospects and encouragement. Even in Europe, educational endowments are generally made for the benefit of what would otherwise suffer from want of such stimulus. At last, the scandal has reached such a point in the Punjab, that, in a University especially intended for the encouragement of Literature, the allotment for the current year, under the head of 'rewards to authors,' is budgeted for at Rs. 60, this amount, too, being derivable from an endowment that cannot be alienated. In the same way, for the last three years, a number of important translations have been kept back, although funds are always found for what are called practical purposes, that is to say, for those who publish works in English for their own benefit, and who can get themselves heard. In connection with all this, there is a dead set made against the native systems of medicine, law, &c. An attempt is made in every profession to destroy those who are its traditional native exponents, and this generally for the sake of *novi homines* who do not possess the same sense of inherited responsibility;—*e. g.*, instead of profound jurists who were to become the *Kazis* of an enlightened Muhammadan community, we only encourage eager pleaders; instead of the sons of traditional *Hakims* and *Baids* trained in their own systems of medicine, as well as in our own, after receiving a liberal classical Oriental education, we lose such pioneers of a more advanced school for the sake of 'native doctors' who do not command, as a rule, the same respect of the people. In fact, a thing need only be Oriental in order at once to meet with the contempt and

discouragement of the Senate of a University, the 'Premier' Faculty of which has been declared to be 'Oriental' by the Act of Incorporation of 1882.

"It is this want of sympathy and of knowledge that is primarily responsible for the special misapplications which I now wish to bring to your Lordship's notice :—

"*First.*—*The Khalifa-Aitchison subscription*, Rs. 3,000, was made early in 1883, but the money of it was spent, and it is now falsely stated that this was a mere matter of accounts. No professional accountant will say so, and I beg that this matter be referred to an authority independent of the Local Government and of the Senate.

"*Second.*—*The Khalifa-Griffin Medal* began with a gift of 630 books, followed by an immediate sale of 300 copies of the value of Rs. 2,700, which were sufficient to found it. This was not done, but the money was spent, and I invite your Lordship's attention to the series of subterfuges and false issues raised regarding this endowment as one of the instances of the spirit and manner in which endowments are now dealt with. I solicit that the whole correspondence regarding this endowment be called for, as also all the proceedings and documents in connection with the recent so-called Financial Enquiry.

"*Third.*—*Raja Harbans Singh's Donation* of Rs. 1,000 for a die was made in 1883, but has also been spent, and the dies have not been procured.

"*Fourth.*—*Rai Kunhya Lal's Engineering Prize*, Rs. 1,000. This was not invested as directed by the Senate, but was spent; however, Rs. 40 were given for a prize which thus *appeared* to be the interest of the investment which has not yet been made, and which cannot be made without encroaching on funds subscribed for the general Oriental purposes of the University.

"*Fifth.*—*The Faridkote Subscriptions* of Rs. 5,000, of *Rai Mela Ram* of Rs. 1,000; *Lambagraon*, Rs. 1,000; *Suket*, Rs. 1,000, although given for the current expenditure of the University, were ordered by the Senate to be

invested. The donors were, however, not asked at the time whether they wished the interests of their gifts to be given to general purposes or to specific objects. Instead of doing this, the money was spent, and the donors' wishes regarding them (when recently ascertained in connection with the necessity of completing the correspondence connected with all the Trusts), have been deliberately disregarded in the recent resolutions of Senate, which has thus condoned the disobedience to its own orders by the Acting Registrar and Assistant Registrar.

" *Sixth.* — *The Gurmukhi Endowments* of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha, of Rs. 15,000, 5,000, and 200 annually, respectively. These sums were given for distinct purposes, insisted on by Government and based on certain existing examinations, but their interest was applied, since October, 1883, to entirely different purposes in consequence of a change in the admission to these examinations, which frustrated the objects of the gifts; although this change was brought to the notice of Government in March, 1884, no steps were taken to rectify what is now stated to have been 'an obvious mistake,' but, in point of fact, every difficulty was thrown in my way in getting these endowments restored to their intended uses, and if I have succeeded in getting one of the obstacles to their proper application removed, it has been accompanied by an explanation of the past 'mistake' which is utterly inconsistent with the truth. A portion of these endowments, *viz.*, the Patiala one of Rs. 5,000, is still being misapplied, as no 'Gyani' examination is held by the University.

"I solicit your Lordship's perusal of my memorandum on the Bhai Classes. I would further invite your Lordship's attention to the irregular and improper manner in which the enquiries of the Financial Committee were conducted, and in which the Resolutions of Senate and Syndicate, that were nominally based on them, were arrived at; to the attempt that has been made to prevent many of the papers connected with the subject from reaching

Government; and to the endeavour to convert into questions of opinions, matters of fact on which there ought to be no two opinions among honourable men. The whole thing is a scandal, implicating the late Officiating Registrar and Assistant Registrar, as also the Senate and Syndicate, that have now assumed the responsibility for irregularities or misapplications committed either without their knowledge or against their orders by a majority of 23 members against 22, the latter representing by far the bulk of the donations, as also of the original promoters of the movement. The explanations which have been made regarding the misapplications are worse than the misapplications themselves, for it is conceivable that men of the highest honour may, without any bad intention, spend trusts from carelessness or error; but it is not equally conceivable that, when these matters are brought to notice, and their truth is established after a struggle of ten months, and when the Capital Fund of the University given for general Oriental purposes has to be reduced, in order to restore these Trusts, explanations should be made, which can only deceive those who wish to be deceived, but which must destroy the confidence of donors in the management of the institution, far more than the commission of errors which, when discovered, are frankly admitted and generously rectified.

“It is thus, my Lord, that a movement of the greatest promise to this Province, and to the cause of research in matters in which the leading scholars of Europe are interested, is about to collapse; it is thus that national educational enterprise is being stifled, and that numerous enquiries which would have thrown light on history, ethnography, and archæology cannot now be continued, owing to the suppression of the living material, the traditional exponents of learning in this country.

“Your Lordship’s recent efforts on behalf of research in India can similarly bear no fruit in our Province when the spirit of research is thus discouraged. The Punjab

University, instead of being a centre of learning, is sought to be converted into a nursery for office-seekers. The world will remember alike those who founded and alienated its funds, but I hope that history may chronicle your Lordship's name as that of the patron who, on the eve of the collapse of a noble institution, restored it to its original intention, and, for the second time, breathed into it that life without which no institution and no nation can be lasting, namely, the sense of veneration for past obligations, and that aspiration towards progress which, without excluding personal or class interests, raises the people as a whole.—I have the honour to be, your Lordship's humble and obedient Servant,

G. W. LEITNER."

It may be mentioned in this place that, even after the publication of Sir Charles Aitchison's Resolutions, Lord Dufferin, whilst presiding at the Convocation of the Punjab University in November 1886, took the opportunity not merely of emphasizing the Oriental character of the institution, as his predecessor, Lord Ripon, had done on a previous similar occasion, but also of directing the attention of the Senate to the discharge of specific duties of Oriental scholarship and research, such as the collection and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, and the conduct of ethnographical and linguistic inquiries into the races of the Hindukush. Beginning with Lord Lawrence, who subscribed Rs. 2,000 per annum to the Punjab University movement as an "Oriental College" from 1866, every successive Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor has pointed out the distinctive Oriental feature of the Punjab University till it fell to the lot of Sir Charles Aitchison to show to the "Babus," among whom he sought to be popular, that the movement was not even mainly Oriental (although its "Premier Faculty" is Oriental, and the Preamble to the University Act of 1882 is alone sufficient to disprove this assertion), that the funds were not collected in response to

the appeals of the Anjuman, but were collected by him, as, indeed, some sums were paid into the custody of the Punjab Government, of which he happened to be the secretary for a short time, pending the giving of a guarantee by the Government that the future university was indeed to continue to be Oriental. Every Calendar of the University College, every contemporaneous newspaper or book in India or Europe from 1865 to 1882, that refers to the movement, the letters written by the Donors, the appeals issued by the Anjuman and all its Reports since 1865, the addresses to Viceroy's by the Senate itself, the statements in previous years of Mr. Aitchison, a Parliamentary Report and innumerable other documents, aye, even receipts and bank-books, during these many years are there to protest against the falsification of history attempted by the Resolutions referred to. It is such acts in high places that not only give confidence to dishonest subordinates, but also tend to demoralize a province. In the case of the Punjab University, the disinclination of the Senate to admit that it had been in fault, showed to the people that had known the facts for a quarter of a century, that anything could be done with impunity if supported officially. To unscrupulous office-holders or students it showed that, even if their malpractices were detected, the Senate would deny their existence rather than allow any slur to be cast on its management. Dr. Leitner urged in vain that the generous admission and rectification of the errors committed during his absence would alone reconcile and encourage Donors. Committees were appointed, and syndicate meetings were held, and every kind of pressure, if not persecution, was exercised, to prove the foregone conclusion that there had been nothing wrong.

The Senate condoned the fault of the acting registrar and his assistant, and on the resignation of Dr. Leitner, proceeded to appoint a man who knew nothing about scholastic or university work. He was supported by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Director of Public

Instruction, the Accountant-General of the Punjab, and a large number of officials. It would have been a strange experience if the reputation, the work, and prospects of the Punjab University had been sustained by such a Registrar. As it was, everything went wrong, and on a public inquiry being instituted, it was discovered, among other things, that students had been allowed to pass certain examinations by the most questionable processes. The days of bribery and corruption are by no means over as it appears, but the gravamen, the responsibility, lies to a great extent upon those very gentlemen to whose support this man owed his place, and who now shelter themselves behind the bulwark of their good intentions. Nothing short of the application of the funds to their original purposes of Oriental learning, which must follow an independent and public inquiry into the history of the Punjab University, will ever satisfy the people of the Punjab and the Orientalists in this and other countries, or will maintain the hold of Government on that province, now honeycombed by Babu intrigues.

MOULVI ABD-UR-RASHĪD.

INDIA SIXTY YEARS AGO.

SIXTY years ago in India was the beginning of a decade which divides the old world from the new; the old wars for securing peace within the Indian pale, from the later wars securing peace beyond the north-west frontier; the old times when the East India Company ruled India as traders, from the new era when the Company was forbidden to trade, and India was thrown open to the European world. In 1828, Tippoo and the Mahrattas were forgotten, and the Sikh, the Ghorka, and the Golden Foot, had each in turn played their parts in history. Runjeet Singh, the old Sikh "Lion of Lahore," had shown his teeth on the Sutlej, and then yielded to British demands that he should keep to the right bank. The Ghorka of Nipal was brought to his senses by the storming of his fortresses on the Himalayas, and was bound over for the future to abstain from all aggression on British territory. The "Lord of the White Elephant" and "King of the Sun and Moon" was humiliated on the Irrawaddy, but agreeably surprised at the British evacuation of Pegu. In a word, not any enemy was to be seen from the banks of the Sutlej to the mouths of the Ganges and Irrawaddy. Russia was troubling Persia, and the Afghans were fighting each other; but Central Asia was in the clouds, and no one dreamed of a Cabul war.

But the East India Company was in sore tribulation. A debt of many millions had been incurred by the first Burmese war, and there was no accession of territories or revenues whereby to settle the bill. Nothing was gained but strips of coast, which did not pay the cost of administration. This terrible debt was a dead weight on the Com-

pany, and the Burmese war was condemned, not because it had been unjust or unnecessary, but because it had entailed an expenditure which necessitated retrenchment and reforms.

In this very year of 1828 Lord William Bentinck landed at Calcutta as Governor-General of India. He was an able, just, and hard-working ruler, of tried capacity as an administrator, a soldier, and a statesman, endowed with indomitable energy and self-reliance, and destined to leave his mark in India. But he had been soured by repeated disappointments, and was often headstrong, suspicious, and prying ; careless of the opinion of the services, and eager to upset existing things and usher in a premature millennium.

Lord William Bentinck had broken down at Madras more than twenty years before he landed at Calcutta. From 1802 to 1807 he was Governor of the Madras Presidency. He was bent on advancing the natives in the public service, and on raising them in the social scale. Sir John Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was of the same mind. He insisted on British officers learning the vernaculars, and paying more deference to native officers. By some unhappy mischance, Sir John Craddock excited a general disaffection by ordering the Madras sepoys to appear on parade in objectionable hats and without their caste marks ; and Lord William Bentinck, who combined a soldier's love of discipline with his philanthropic zeal, supported Craddock in his innovation. The result was that a mutiny broke out at Vellore, and the two reformers of Southern India were recalled from their respective appointments for outraging the feelings of the natives !

For twenty years after that unlucky recall, Lord William Bentinck brooded over his wrongs, and vainly moved heaven and earth for redress. He served in the Peninsular war, and was sent on an expedition to Sicily ; but he could not make his mark. At last he was appointed Governor-General of Bengal, and, with his usual ill-luck, was compelled to face

a financial crisis which was alarming the Directors of the East India Company and disturbing the peace of mind of every European in India.

Of India itself little or nothing was known in Europe. There was a very general impression that Indian civilians were living like princes, in mansions as splendid and awe-inspiring as the old fortresses; that army officers were ruining themselves, body and soul, with cards, horse races, brandy pawny, hookahs, and native mistresses; that one and all, civil and military, lawyers, merchants, and chaplains, were suffering from the evil effects of a deadly climate, aggravated by hot curries, and ending in diseased livers and peppery tempers. The character of Mr. Joseph Sedley, Collector of Boggleyport, as he appears in Thackeray's novel of "Vanity Fair," exactly represents the English idea of the ruck of Bengal civilians of the olden time. But it must be borne in mind that Mr. Joseph Sedley was a civilian of the Mofussil; of the great world of India that lay outside the limits of the Presidency capitals; and that he never appears to have held high office amongst the picked civilians at Calcutta, as a secretary to Government, or member of Council. He flourished in days when the Mofussil was a *terra incognita* not only to Europe, but to the non-official Europeans at the Presidency capitals. It is somewhat suggestive that his worldly-wise father, the sagacious London stockbroker, was cheered by the fact that Becky Sharp, with all her faults, was at least an English woman, and that the marriage, if concluded, would banish all fears that he might some day bring home a dark-coloured wife and a family of pickaninnies.

Meanwhile home talk about India was more sensational than social, and more or less coloured by the religious notions of the age. Stories were told of tigers and serpents, thugs and Pindharies, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, temples and idol-cars, religious mendicants and jewelled dancing-girls. Maiden aunts groaned over suttees and other abominations of the heathen, and many English

children revelled in Mrs. Sherwood's "Little Henry and his Bearer" and "Stories Explanatory of the Church Catechism"; or shuddered at missionary pictures of living widows being burnt alive with their dead husbands; of hideous pagodas, human sacrifices, and devotees throwing themselves beneath the wheels of Juggernaut. Indeed, in those days India was a vast preserve, shut out from all Europeans not in the service of the East India Company, save for a sprinkling of lawyers, missionaries, free merchants and tradespeople, permitted to reside in India by the special leave and license of the far-off Court of Directors, who were sitting in mysterious seclusion in the old East India House in Leadenhall Street, and swaying the destinies of unknown millions.

The people of England, so far as they knew anything of Lord William Bentinck, regarded him as a mild, amiable ruler, of a religious turn of mind; tolerant of all sects and denominations of Christians, especially kind to ministers and missionaries, and imbued with an ardent desire to advance the natives of India to posts of trust and responsibility. His enemies, however, described him as a hard man, without sympathy for the Company's servants, civil or military. It was believed that he had been appointed Governor-General of Bengal as a solatium for having been recalled from the Governorship of Madras; but whispers were heard that he was secretly bent on being revenged on the East India Company and all their servants in India. As a matter of fact, he cut down the emoluments of the Bengal Army known as *batta* to half *batta*, at all military cantonments within four hundred miles of Calcutta; and he treated all appeals from the sufferers with silent contempt, although they were backed up by the great Duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, under whom he had served in the Peninsula. Moreover, he not only reduced civil establishments and salaries, but showed himself severely suspicious and watchful of all backsliders in the civil service, towards whom he was certainly more just than merciful.

Later on he drafted the Charter Act of 1833, which put an end to the trade of the East India Company, deprived Madras and Bombay of all legislative power and financial responsibility, and invested himself and his successors, aided by a Bengal Council, with the sole and exclusive government of India. Under this charter of 1833, the old title of Governor-General and Council of Bengal, which had lasted since the days of Warren Hastings, was transformed into that of Governor-General of India in Council, and collectively known as the Government of India. Meanwhile the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay lost their independence, and became little better than feudatory provinces subject to the caprice of Bengal, that knew little or nothing about either Presidency. Except for purely domestic administration, they were treated as automata. The stagnation as regards public works continued until the advent of Lord Dalhousie; as regards legislation, until the constitution of a legislative assembly in 1853, with representative members from the subordinate provinces; and as regards financial responsibility, until the decentralization scheme of Lord Mayo.

Outside the services, Lord William Bentinck was popular, making himself agreeable to all not officially connected with government. He despised pomp and show, and hated the sight of silver sticks and maces. These sticks and maces were signs of high rank in India, and were always carried by chobdars or mace-bearers in attendance on judges, collectors, commercial agents, and political residents. They flourished like weeds under the famous Marquis of Wellesley, "the glorious little man"; but they were nearly eradicated by the economic reforms of Lord William Bentinck. Silver sticks and maces in India are nowadays as old-fashioned as the javelin men of the British Isles.

Lord William Bentinck deservedly gained glory by the abolition of suttee, although civilians of the old school declared that the sacrifice of widows was not so senseless as duelling, and that the voluntary act of devotion was an

example of purity for all time. He created classes of native civil judges—a dubious experiment fifty or sixty years ago, but which has worked well under the extending system of State education. He withdrew as far as possible from all interference with native principalities ; but this policy was an utter failure, and was reversed by his successors from the impossibility of keeping the peace in India without the exercise of a paramount power.

English society in India at this period was not unlike society in the British Isles. The Presidency capitals and large Mofussil stations were decorous and proper, and what is known as the Clapham or Evangelical School of Christianity was exercising a wholesome moral check, whatever objections might be raised against its tone and doctrines. But social life in smaller stations in the remote jungles was secluded, and may have been scandalous. On this point, however, it is needless to dwell. Manners and morals of European sojourners in the jungles have been vastly improved of late years by the presence of European ladies, and the never-failing influence of European wives and mothers as leaders of society in Mofussil communities.

Married life in India was almost the only civilizing force at work amongst Europeans during the first half of the nineteenth century. Writers of sixty years ago often dwelt on the happiness of English marriages in India. Ladies were so surrounded by native servants pervading the rooms from morning till night, that they were nearly as closely guarded as if they had been shut up in so many zenanas. Elopements were impossible where there were no roads and no hotels, and where Europeans could not travel without carrying their provisions, cooks, and cooking utensils with them. One writer describes a supposititious elopement on horseback beneath the burning sun of India : the unhappy heroine suffering from stings of conscience at every jolt, crying aloud, as the day advances, in vexation, remorse, and prickly heat : the gallant hero perspiring at every pore, spurring on his Arab steed, cursing his own folly, and

maddened by every conceivable annoyance. Finally, they halt at a dák bungalow, without servants, food, or wine; nothing but the bare walls, tables, and chairs; the silence broken by the howls of jackals, the buzzing and biting of mosquitoes, the hissing of serpents, roar of tigers, or screams of owls and hyenas. In a word, such escapades as may have occasionally disturbed the peace of British parents, or the temper of British husbands, in post-chaises and hotels of sixty years ago, were absolutely impossible in India, even if the superior virtues of Anglo-Indian ladies had not placed them far above such temptations. Whether modern trips to hill stations have brought about any changes in this direction is outside the scope of the present article, which only deals with the decade between sixty and fifty years ago.

Young ladies in India were not without their sorrows. A charming writer, famous in Lord William Bentinck's time under the name of Maria Graham, arrived at Calcutta in a sailing ship round the Cape, at some unfixed date within the decade. Steamer communication was unknown in those days, and the Court of Directors was deadly opposed to any scheme for an overland route. Miss Graham complained that Bengal was not as it had been in the old war times. There were no yellow civilians or battered brigadiers to woo a fair maiden, fresh from the British Isles, with piles of cashmere shawls, and heaps of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. Young civilians were still available, but those at Calcutta were very few and very young, and were lodged on their arrival in handsome chambers at Writers' Buildings, in Tank Square, and in England would not have been regarded as marrying men. They were supposed to be busily engaged in studying Hindustani and Persian, under learned Pundits and Munshis; but spent most of their time and more than all their money in dressing, driving, riding, dining, gambling, and rearing bull-dog puppies. Such heedless young gentlemen might become engaged with all the hot haste of youth,

fresh from the East India Company's College at Haileybury, but they would scarcely marry until they had passed the college examination at Calcutta in Hindustani and Persian. Then, however, those were really fortunate who secured a suitable bride to brighten the horrible solitude of life in a small civil station in the Mofussil ; and when duly qualified, they were sent to some such station to be assistants to Collectors, Judges, Commercial Agents, or Political Residents.

Calcutta society in those far-off days was very rigid as regards engagements. Whenever a young gentleman, civilian or otherwise, was once caught, there was no escape from the toils. If once he drove his lady-love in his buggy, it was as good as a written pledge, and a suit for breach of promise would hold good, without the production of letters or collateral evidence of any kind. In the case of young civilians, however, the pair were married directly the lover had passed the college examination, and the ceremony was performed under circumstances similar to those still in vogue. There would be a great crowd at the wedding, but no entertainment beyond cake and wine, and no bridal tour, beyond, perhaps, a few days' stay at a friend's bungalow at Barrackpore, some sixteen miles from Calcutta, which might have been especially lent for the honeymoon.

Next in rank to the civil service was the military, but army pay was sadly inferior. Subalterns, especially those who were suffering from half batta, were not in flourishing circumstances. Uniforms were but small attractions in India ; and even a dashing cavalry officer, feathered and sashed, had but a poor chance against the plain coat and round hat of a civilian.

But army officers were more domestic in India than civil servants. When morning parade was over, they had the greater part of the day at their own disposal. Civil servants, especially the senior ones, were often hard at work at their offices or cutcheries throughout the day.

Mrs. Sherwood, in her diary, describes the house of a wealthy civilian, who appears to have been the commercial agent at Mirzapore. One wing of the large house was devoted to four little children and their attendants. Each child had two or more servants to itself, besides the washermen, sweepers, bullock-drivers, cooks, and other nondescripts which were attached to that side of the house. A white woman, apparently a sergeant's widow, was mistress over all, and gave her orders in Anglo-Hindustani, and made herself generally overbearing and objectionable. The civilian's wife could not control the children, and did not exert herself in any way. She had few books, and scarcely saw any European but her husband. "There is no solitude," says Mrs. Sherwood, "like the solitude of a civilian's wife in a retired situation in India."

Maria Graham describes social life at large military cantonments like Cawnpore, which was altogether different from the extremely limited European communities at purely civil stations. In those days Cawnpore was in all its glory. It was six hundred miles from Calcutta. Outside the native city was a large military cantonment occupied by European regiments, as well as by sepoy regiments commanded by European officers. Indeed, Cawnpore might be described as the headquarters of the standing army of Hindustan. It included the barracks for the European soldiers, and the lines of huts which were occupied by the sepoys. The officers of European regiments had houses or quarters of their own according to their rank. The officers of sepoy regiments dwelt in one storied bungalows round about. The civil station was small, for only two judges and two collectors, with their respective assistants, were allotted to Cawnpore. The civilians had handsomer houses than the military, and lived in good style on liberal salaries and allowances; but the military were somewhat in the ascendant, for a major-general was in command with a large staff, and many of the officers of the garrison and military men in high positions enjoyed liberal pay.

Cawnpore, by which is meant the military cantonment and civil station, which were altogether distinct from the native town, was a pleasant place of residence during the cold weather. A long, straggling waste of sand was brightened by gardens, and was the scene of much social festivity, which Maria Graham has described with considerable spirit and detail.

In the centre of the English settlement or station, were two imposing buildings of stone, the assembly-rooms and the theatre. Both were closely connected, for after the play was over in the theatre, there was a ball and supper at the rooms. The floors were boarded, which was somewhat unusual in India, as the powers that be were always in mortal fear of white ants, which often destroy the boards with alarming celerity. But at the assembly-rooms at Cawnpore such fears were cast to the winds, or allayed by extra precautions. Maria Graham observes, with much intensity of feeling, that only those who have danced on a mat covering a plastered or chunam floor, can truly appreciate the luxury of boards.

During the cold season, the military force at Cawnpore encamped on a large plain for military evolutions. Streets and squares of canvas stretched over an immense area. Every regiment had its own bazaar in the rear, whilst numberless camp followers bivouacked in the distance. Reviews and grand field days were great occasions. Every officer was present, those on leave as well as those on duty; and all the European ladies of the place assembled to see the review, being always sure of the attendance of numerous gentlemen, and of the magnificent breakfast to which all in society were invited when the review was over. Horses, elephants, and carriages covered the plain, whilst the large native town sent forth its hosts of Asiatics, until the sandy desert swarmed with life. Peaceful military evolutions were succeeded by mimic war; the shock of contending battalions, the charge, the dispersion, the rally, and the retreat. Squadrons of cavalry tore up the ground, loud

roared the red artillery. When all was over, there was a general retirement to the dressing tents, and then the bugle sounded the summons to breakfast.

An Indian breakfast was as splendid a repast in the sandy desert at Cawnpore, as when laid out on the princely tables of Calcutta. The native servants put forth all their strength. Fish of every kind, fresh, dried, pickled, preserved, or hermetically sealed in tins; delicate fricassees, rissoles, croquettes, omelettes, and curries of all descriptions; meats and game of all sorts; pâtés, jellies, and jams from London and Lucknow; fruit and sweetmeats; with cakes in endless variety. All were splendidly set out on china, cut glass, and silver, the guests providing, in camp fashion, their own plates, tea-cups, knives, forks, and spoons. What with theatre, assembly balls, suppers, and the once famous camp breakfasts, Cawnpore was certainly not without its pleasures in the cold season of "sixty years ago."

The races at Cawnpore were another feature of the cold weather. The crowds of British officers on other occasions led to a great display of uniforms, but at Cawnpore races it was considered the thing to cast off every semblance of military show, and to appear, as far as ward-robes would permit, in fancy costumes as country gentlemen, sporting farmers, and even as village rustics. Such things were difficult to procure at an up-country station in those days. Few officers kept any sort of plain clothes, and ingenuity was racked to find substitutes for the coveted garments. Happy were those who were possessed of a single-breasted coat, top boots, and corduroys. Round hats and jockey caps were in huge demand. Native tailors were driven to distraction in attempting to manufacture uncouth garments which should remind European spectators of Newmarket or the Derby. Many gentlemen rode their own horses, and there was generally a very amusing *melée*, in which all descriptions of horses were entered, and which afforded much merriment, especially to those who were not too deeply interested in the fortunes of favourites.

Betting went on in the liveliest style, and ladies gambled freely in gloves and lavender water, whilst some of the sterner sex became more ruinously involved in serious transactions on the betting-ground.

Cawnpore was not unhealthy. During the rains it suffered, like other stations, from fever and ague ; and when the hot winds were blowing, it was burning, stifling, smothering. New arrivals from England or Calcutta might have deemed it semi-barbarous, because wolves strayed into the compound, and the door of a bungalow was often without locks or keys, and open to outsiders. But new arrivals from out-stations in the jungle, who had no companions but bears and bores, on two legs or four, looked upon Cawnpore as an earthly paradise. The shops, European and Asiatic, were supplied with every European manufacture which was necessary for comfort, and even for luxury, though the allowances of subalterns would not admit of many purchases. Hindoo and Mohammedan tradesmen had warehouses filled with French as well as English goods ; and the jewellers of Cawnpore were scarcely inferior to those of Delhi. Mantua makers and tailors were well supplied with prints of fashions, and the ladies of Cawnpore were distinguished far and wide in the Mofussil for their accurate imitation of London and Paris toilettes. Indeed the contrast between lady residents in Cawnpore and lady visitors from surrounding jungles was often most amusing.

But there was one feature of social life in the Mofussil which seems to be inscrutable. Anglo-Indian ladies scarcely met each other excepting at dinner parties, after the heat of the day was over. The work-table would not bring parties of young people together, for exertion was a toil. Pūnkahs moved to and fro, scattering all light articles that were not kept under weights. Mosquitoes interfered with every employment. There were no old maids, and consequently it might have been presumed there were no scandals. Yet there was no watering-place in the British Isles, and no village or country town, that was more cen-

sorious than a Mofussil station. The male residents, young and old, married and single, were the offenders. If not always the actual authors, they were the purveyors, disseminators, and reporters. It was to them that the ladies were indebted for all the news of the place, private and public; they reported the progress of flirtations, and hazarded conjectures upon the probable issue.

Berhampore was another European station of importance. In outward appearance it was the most attractive in the Mofussil. It was seated on the Hooghly, about six miles from Murshedabad, the residence of the extinct Nawabs of Bengal. It was known to English readers of sixty years ago by the fact that Mrs. Sherwood's "Little Henry" was buried there, and that "his Bearer" carried away a lock of his hair from Berhampore to Calcutta. The cantonments were well laid out and handsomely built. There was a grand square enclosing an excellent parade-ground. The quarters of European officers resembled the palaces at Calcutta. The stately houses of civil servants and other permanent residents stood in tasteful and convenient spots. But Berhampore was low and unhealthy, abounding in ditches and stagnant pools, whilst every breath of air came from swamps and marshes.

The social duty as regards "first calls" is familiar to all residents in India, but it caused endless heart-burnings at Berhampore. The rule is for the new-comers to call on the residents. It naturally arose in the old commercial days, when every writer was expected to pay his respects to all the factors and merchants at the station. Later on, the civil and military servants of the Company followed the same usage, and thus seniors were often expected to call upon juniors, and made no difficulty in following the existing usage. But European officers in the service of the Crown hesitated to call upon the civil servants of the Company. Subalterns were afraid of intruding in the mansions of rich civilians, whilst the older officers either refused to call, or did so with an ill grace, and were subsequently disinclined

to accept invitations to expensive entertainments which they were unable to return on a like scale.

Whilst Maria Graham was at Berhampore, a European regiment arrived from England, and the officers staunchly refused to make the first call. Presently a civilian of high rank arrived to take up the post of Resident at the neighbouring court of Murshedabad. The new-comer was a political officer of great experience of native courts, where he kept a train of elephants, and never appeared in state without being surrounded by a crowd of chobdars and chuprassies with silver maces and sheathed swords, and followed by a body of native horsemen. To the surprise of the European regiment fresh from England, the great man drove through the station in his buggy and left his card at every door. Henceforth he was exceedingly popular, and "first calls" were so far upheld in Berhampore.

Berhampore depended for much of its gaieties on the neighbouring court of Murshedabad. The Nawab had a large pension, but had lost every vestige of power except the title. He celebrated all the Mohammedan festivals with great pomp, and invited all the European residents of social position to attend the rejoicings. The entertainment was somewhat mixed; the nautches of the dancing-girls going on in one apartment, and the quadrilles of the Europeans in another. Maria Graham had no opinion of the Nawab or his family. He was a dissipated Oriental, and no European with any self-respect could take the slightest pleasure in his society. Whenever he received the hospitalities of Europeans, he invariably became intoxicated at an early hour, and thus became a social nuisance, which rendered it necessary for his entertainers to be always on their guard.

Patna was the first native city of wealth and importance that was passed by voyagers going up the Ganges from Bengal to important stations in the upper provinces. It was the capital of Behar, and four hundred miles from Calcutta. Here the marshy soil of Bengal was changed for the arid sands of Hindustan. Camels, which were rarely

seen in the damp atmosphere of Bengal, began to appear on the roads. Hot winds, which are tempered by the moisture of Bengal, blow in Behar from May to July with a fierceness which is often felt until midnight.

The city of Patna was rich in the remains of Mohammedan splendour. Many houses of the wealthier classes were handsome buildings with flat roofs and carved balustrades. Seen from a distance, the intermixture of trees, broad gateways, Hindoo pagodas, and Mohammedan mosques, produced a striking effect.

The European civil station was outside the town, and was known as Bankepore. The situation was advantageous, because supplies from Calcutta could be procured by the river within a few weeks. The military cantonments were at Dinapore, about ten miles west of Patna, but it was a "half batta station," and European officers and their ladies were exasperated at the loss of pay, and severe on the gaieties of Bankepore. Gentlemen of the civil service might go to all the expense of a ball, and then because of some trifling pique might receive excuses from their expected partners. Ladies had been known to retreat *en masse* from a dinner-party which was to have been followed by a ball, because they had been offended by the smell of cheroots in a neighbouring apartment. Indeed, many ladies, including Maria Graham, resented the innovations of the decade which began sixty years ago. They preferred what was called the "elegant hookah," with its scented perfumes, and fragrant smoke bubbling through rose-water. Mrs. Sherwood tells us that in the earlier years of the century, the English wife of a civilian would while away the dreary hours of an Indian day by smoking the hookah. But cigars and cheroots filled the rooms with the warmer atmosphere of rougher weeds, which smarted in ladies' eyes, and imparted a dubious fragrance to their dresses. Of later years, public opinion has undergone an entire change, and English ladies tolerate cheroots, whilst educated Asiatics prefer cigars to hubble-bubbles.

The native city of Patna was the stronghold of Moham-medans. They were mostly Shiahs, and celebrated the martyrdom of the three Imaums of the family of the Prophet—Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain—with the utmost magnificence at the Mohurrum. The Mohammedan cemetery in the suburbs of Patna was a large oblong quadrangle, surrounded by handsome buildings. During the greater part of the year it was a perfect solitude. At the solemn festival of the Mohurrum, the roofs and verandahs of the buildings were crowded with guests and spectators. The tazis, which represented the tombs of the three martyrs, were carried in funeral procession through the streets of Patna, and deposited in the great square. The whole population of Patna—Moslem, Christian, and Hindoo—assembled to witness the procession; indeed, Christians were much respected by the Shiahs, as those of Syria were said to have protested against the cruel persecution of the Shiahs by the Sunnis of Damascus. The square rang with shouts of “Hasan! Husain!” accompanied by deep groans and beatings on the breast. The fatal battle on the Euphrates was enacted by groups representing the combatants, and enlivened by volleys of musketry; and whenever Husain was beaten to the ground, the lamentations of the Shiahs rent the air. If any Sunnis intruded, the battle became one of right earnest, and many lives were lost in the old quarrel, which was begun over the deathbed of Mohammed, and is separating the world of Islam into two hostile camps unto this day.

Very few Europeans travelled in India, except civil servants and army officers in the service of the East India Company. Barristers and attorneys, merchants and shopkeepers, resided at one or other of the capitals of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, and never went farther than the environs of the city, which was their home in India and the circle of their little world. But Anglo-Indians in the services were frequently on the move, either on duty or on the score of health. In those days of no roads there were

only three modes of travelling, namely, by post or *dák*, by march, or by boat. Marching was inconvenient, except in the cold weather, when Europeans could travel at early morning during some four or five hours, on foot or horse-back, or in one or other of the multitude of nondescript conveyances which were used as carriages, from European buggies to native bullock hackeries. Travelling in native boats, known as *budgerows*, was common enough in Northern India, where the broad streams of the Ganges and Jumna flowed from the upper provinces to Allahabad, where they united in one stream, and went on past Calcutta to the Bay of Bengal; but small boats were often dangerous, and vessels of any burden could only proceed up the Ganges during the rainy season when the river was full.

Nearly all European travelling in India was by post, which went by the native name of *dák*. The traveller provided his own palanquin, and applied to the post-master of his own station, three or four days before starting, for relays of palanquin-bearers to a given point; this was called laying the *dák*. The post-master gave timely notice to the village officials on the line of route, that they might supply the necessary relays of bearers at different stages on his way. Every relay consisted of two sets of four coolies, who relieved each other in turns. At night two fresh bearers were added, who carried a lighted torch in turns. Biscuits, water, wine, and simple requirements, were stowed inside the palanquin. Boxes and other parcels were carried on bamboos across the shoulders of other bearers. The palanquin was carried at the rate of three or four miles an hour, and the stages varied from ten to fourteen miles, when a fresh relay of bearers was generally found sleeping or smoking, but otherwise ready to take the place of their weary predecessors.

Besides the short stoppages for change of bearers, there was generally a permanent halt at the end of every eight or twelve hours; eight hours for a lady and twelve

hours for a gentleman. Most Europeans travelled at night and rested during the heat of the day, when the traveller put up at a *dák* bungalow, or at the house of some European resident; no *dák* traveller being ever refused admittance who went to the gate and asked for shelter.

Benares, above Patna, was the stronghold of Hindooism, or Brahmanism. It was crowded by pilgrims from all parts of India; it was the asylum of fallen princes, and the refuge of rebels and usurpers. There were frequent and desperate struggles in the streets of Benares between Mohammedans and Hindoos; the Mohammedans slaughtering sacred bulls in the public thoroughfares, and the Hindoos slaying swine in the mosques of the believers. Many Mahrattas dwelt at Benares, whose wives enjoyed more liberty than other Hindoos. In the Mahratta country these ladies enjoyed perfect freedom; in Benares they did not shock the sensitive feelings of the people by appearing publicly in the streets, but they would look down unveiled from terraces and housetops, and even encounter the gaze of European travellers.

The Raja of Benares retained his title and a liberal revenue, but had lost all power. He resided at Ramnaghur, a fortified palace a few miles up the river. He also possessed a large mansion in the neighbourhood of the cantonments, built in the Anglo-Indian fashion, where he entertained the families of the civil and military officers of the station during the celebration of the most noted Hindoo festivals, and frequently attended the amateur performances of the theatre in the cantonment.

The European station was about three miles from Benares, and was known as Secrole. This separation of European stations from native cities was to be found at Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and Meerut, and indeed was the characteristic of British rule in India. But the separation between the military and civil lines was as remarkable as that between Europeans and Asiatics. The military were always jealous of the civil servants, and disinclined to

show much deference to the superior wealth of judges and collectors. On the other hand, civilians in high appointments sometimes held themselves so superior to their military compeers, that they were known as "Bahadurs," or "great men." Generally speaking, however, the civilians were so few in number that they were only too glad to pay attention to all the military in their neighbourhood, and they made less fuss at attending balls in cantonments than was made by army officers in accepting invitations to entertainments in the civil stations.

Civilians, however, had a domestic grievance of their own. They could not bring out English governesses for their families without soon losing them; in other words, without young officers finding them out and offering marriage. A governess might be bound over in heavy penalties not to marry within a certain number of years, but if not engaged during the long voyage round the Cape, would soon yield to the eager courtship of some ardent lover in the upper provinces. In a word, all the idle young gentlemen of the station would be after her. Rich suitors paid the money forfeited under the bond; poor suitors declared that all bonds were cancelled by marriage. Neither fortune nor connection were regarded as long as the fair lady possessed a few showy accomplishments, notably that of singing. The only chance of retaining an English governess was to be found when a well-conducted lady had been separated from her husband and sought an asylum in a foreign land. A European waiting-maid often stood as fair a chance as her mistress, and sometimes carried off the prize of the station, or the most desirable *parti* at the Presidency capital. If neither the army nor the civil service furnished a suitor, a wealthy tradesman at Calcutta or Cawnpore sued and won the waiting-maid.

Maria Graham sojourned for awhile at Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and Meerut; but the social life of Europeans was just the same at any large station. So, too, was that hard line of demarcation between Europeans and Asiatics which

philanthropy and statesmanship are still labouring to remove. Lord William Bentinck did his best to break down the barrier. He invited not only Mohammedan princes and Hindoo notables to balls and entertainments at Government House, but Asiatic gentlemen of inferior position who could not understand quadrilles or waltzes, or drinking healths after dinners and suppers, and were somewhat uneasy at sitting on chairs instead of cross-legged on a cushion or carpet. English ladies rebelled against such innovations, but the fashion was set by the Lord Sahib, and was followed for a while by Calcutta society, but rapidly died out during the years which followed Lord William Bentinck's departure.

Maria Graham had a curious adventure in Behar, which reveals the old hospitable life which is passing away from India. Behar is the territory between Benares and Bengal Proper, of which Patna was the capital. It was less known to Europeans than Bengal, because travellers saw very little of it from the Ganges; but the country was fertile, and the population industrious and hardy. The people were called Hindustanis, and were a military race as compared with the more enervated Bengalis.

Miss Graham was travelling by *dák*, that is by palanquin, from Benares to Dinapore, the military station near Patna. She expected to be three days on the journey, travelling all night in the palanquin, and halting during the heat of the day, first at Ghazipur and afterwards at Buxar. Before leaving Benares, the post-master there advised her to halt on the third day at Arrah. This was a small civil station some twenty-five miles short of Dinapore, and one of the prettiest in India. European society at Arrah was very limited. It rarely consisted of more than five families, namely, those of the judge and collector and their respective assistants, and the surgeon. There were indigo factories in the neighbourhood, but the owners were sometimes absent; and during the season the planter was too busy with the manufacture to hold much communication with

his neighbours. Sometimes the station would be almost deserted, as the judge and collector were away during the cold weather, making the circuit of the district in pursuance of their official duties.

At Buxar Maria Graham expected to procure letters of introduction to a family at Arrah, but was told that all the married Europeans were away from their homes. Every house, however, would be open to a European lady, and the native servants would supply her with all she wanted, in accordance with the duties of Indian hospitality. To make matters sure, however, Miss Graham procured a letter of introduction, written in Persian, that was addressed by the post-master at Buxar to the native head-servant of the house belonging to the judge at Arrah.

Maria Graham reached Arrah at eight o'clock in the morning. The bearers carried her palanquin to the mansion of the judge, and the head native servant, the sirdar-bearer of Anglo-Indian households, awoke from his morning slumber in the verandah to attend the "mem sahib." But there was an unexpected difficulty, the bearer could not read the letter, and the lady could not understand the bearer. The assistant-collector and the surgeon were fortunately at Arrah, and breakfast was forthcoming, and the lady was told the news of the station.

The people round about Arrah were quiet, industrious, and inoffensive, but had been recently startled by a horrible crime. A peasant was ploughing in his field when he turned up the body of a murdered man. The English judge and native official hastened to the spot, and found that the whole field was a perfect Golgotha. Dead bodies were found deep in the ground, and all were strangers. It turned out that the keeper of a toddy-shop in the village was a secret Thug. He entertained travellers, drugged them with toddy, and then robbed and murdered them. He had not time to bury his last victim properly, hence the discovery. Eventually the Thug confessed his crime, and was duly hanged.

Lord William Bentinck had done more to suppress the Thugs than any previous Governor-General. He left India in 1835, and the world forgot his faults and remembered only his many virtues. He introduced river steamers and flats on the Ganges. He laboured in vain to open the overland route. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835, and by Lord Auckland in 1836; but to this day there is no Governor-General better known to the people of Bengal than Lord William Bentinck.

In 1837-38, Lord Auckland and his celebrated sister, the Hon. Emily Eden, made a trip to Simla, and, as the lady kept a diary, the trip was a memorable one. Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck made single journeys to Simla, but few details have been published. But Miss Eden's journal pictures the whole route. In October and November there was a voyage in a steamer and flat from Calcutta to Benares, which occupied nearly a month. A great camp was formed at Benares, numbering twelve thousand souls, with elephants, horses, camels, carriages (when possible), and all the paraphernalia of provisions, water, cooks, cooking utensils, trunks, boxes, and other impedimenta. To sum up all, it took five months to get to Simla, whereas the mere trip may now be done in fewer days.

The incidents are a novelty to modern readers. Steaming through the marshy Sunderbunds, redolent of tigers and snakes, was not inspiring. At one small station two young civilians came on board, and gave a pathetic account of the state of society. There were only two bungalows in the station. There were only three married ladies. One was so depressed in spirits that she could not be seen; the second wore a shade over her eyes about the size of a verandah; and the third had her head shaved, and appeared in a brown cushion with a cap on it. At Patna the native women wore red, or red and yellow, and generally carried a brown baby, with a red cap, perched on their hip. At Ghazipur two Hindu ladies appeared, closely veiled,

with a petition. They laid hold of the Governor-General, and screamed and howled, without showing their faces. One of their husbands had fallen on a Mohammedan village with a band of followers, and murdered half the population. He had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death; but the Hindu ladies assured the Lord Sahib that he was innocent. According to their account, the head of the village was his enemy, and had brought a false charge in order to be revenged.

Farther on there was an idyllic difficulty. A gentleman on board had fallen in love with a fair fellow-passenger at Patna; he proposed at Benares where the camp was formed, and was to have been married at Allahabad. A tent was converted into a chapel, but the chaplain could not build an altar. Miss Eden suggested the magnificent scarlet housings of the State elephant, but the chaplain shook his head. Eventually the housings formed a capital altar, with four armchairs for rails; but the bride and bridegroom were solemnly warned not to faint away against the chairs, or the whole thing would come down with a crash. The bride cried less than was expected, being consoled by a beautiful shawl given her by Lord Auckland.

At Moradabad there was great trouble in crossing the river; native carts drawn by oxen stuck fast in the sand; whilst an English carriage was only pulled out by harnessing an elephant. Seven years previously Lord William Bentinck had crossed at that very spot upon a tall English horse, but was up to his middle in water. Simla was reached in April, 1838. Later in the year, war was declared against Dost Mohammed Khan of Cabul. Lord Auckland left Simla in order to meet Runjeet Singh at Ferozepore; and Miss Eden was bent on showing the "Lion of Lahore" "what was what" in bonnets. She had painted a large picture of Queen Victoria, which was fixed in a frame of solid gold studded with turquoise, for presentation to the great Maharaja. The events of that

historic meeting have died out of the memory of the present generation, but one incident is worth preserving.

A certain Sergeant Webb, coachman to Lord Auckland, was sent in charge of seven fine horses as a present to Runjeet Singh, and brought the following report to the Governor-General: "You see, my lord, I had a long job of it. The old Maharaja was saying his prayers, and all the time he was praying he was looking after my horses. At last he gets up, and I was tired of waiting in that sun. But law! Miss Eden, there comes that picture you have been painting, and then the old man and about sixty of his sirdars went down on their knees before it, and Runjeet Singh asked me so many questions that I wished the picture further. I told him that I had never seen the Queen, but that I had been in India with two Governor-Generals. So he says, 'Which Governor-General do you like best?' I says, 'Why, Maharaja, I ain't much fault to find with either of them.' So then he had out the horses, and the old man ran about more like a coolie than a king, and he gave me this pair of bracelets and this pair of shawls."

Thus ended a decade which began with the arrival of Lord William Bentinck at Calcutta, and ended with the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

EDITED BY EDWARD SALMON.

PART I.—VOYAGE TO INDIA IN 1829:

FEW things now fascinate the majority of people more than records of travel in the days when the stage-coach and the sailing-vessel were the chief means of locomotion. Steam has so entirely revolutionized the conditions of transit, that a halo of romance clings round any account of a voyage or a journey taken even half a century ago. The traveller to-day can hardly realize what a voyage to India meant before steam and the Canal had rendered it possible to cover the distance in less weeks than it often took his fathers months. For his edification, the passage to the East in the beginning of the century and previously has been described time after time, but the ground is so full of charm that there are probably no two narratives which materially discount each other. Every such record has an interest of its own. In the succeeding pages much that is fresh will, I believe, be found. The journals of Dr. Turner, who was Bishop of Calcutta from 1829 till his death in 1832, are not so copious as those of Bishop Heber, who filled the same difficult and trying post from 1824 to 1826. So far as they go, however, they are worthy of rescue from their present manuscript state. It has been my good fortune to be entrusted with a copy of these journals, and in the belief that the English and Indian public will find them not less instructive and entertaining than I have found them, I avail myself of the privilege

to publish those portions which seem to me most interesting and important.

The letter in which Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, offered the Rev. J. M. Turner, Rector of Wilmslow, in Cheshire, the succession to the Bishopric of Calcutta when Dr. James should be compelled through ill-health to resign, is dated January 17, 1829. In various letters subsequently written by Dr. Turner to his relatives we have ample proof that the trust reposed in him was in every way justified. He recognized equally fully the honour which the appointment conferred, and the great responsibility which devolved upon him in accepting it. The letters would take up more space than can be spared on this occasion, but it may be said that they are characterized by much tenderness and courage, and a determination to discharge, to the best of his ability, the duty to which God had called him as chief guardian of Christian India. Dr. Turner sailed from Portsmouth on July 15, 1829, in H.M.S. *Pallas*, in company with Lord and Lady Dalhousie, and arrived in Calcutta on December 11th.

With this brief introduction, I will let the traveller speak for himself.

"H.M.S. Pallas at Sea.

"July, 1829.—In writing a short sketch of occurrences for the information of my dear sisters and kind friends, I would be understood to address it generally to all. From time to time, as the several portions are transmitted, they will be directed to one or other individual as convenience may require; but they belong to all, are meant for all, and will, I am sure, be received kindly by all.

"Wearied with the noise of Portsmouth Fair, I determined on Tuesday, July 14th, to cross over to Ryde, having concerted with Capt. FitzClarence that a signal should be given and full time allowed us to get on board if the wind should come round and so admit of our sailing. On

Wednesday word was brought that the *Pallas* had hoisted her signal. Not a moment was to be lost. A boat was in waiting. All our luggage had been sent on board the day before. Cloaks and portmanteaus were quickly got ready, and in five minutes we were on our way to the ship. The Admiral's barge with Lord Dalhousie and his party on board could be seen coming from Portsmouth. We slackened sail to give them time to arrive before us, so that we might escape the noise of the salute and the bustle of the reception. It was an interval well suited for reflection. The sense of all I was leaving and of all which I must be ready to encounter was strong upon my heart. The feeling I can (with much thankfulness) declare, though solemn, was not intensely painful. Some natural tears were dropped, and before Faith and Hope could have their perfect work, our boat was alongside and my foot was on the frigate's deck. The bustle of weighing anchor, the leave-taking of some Portsmouth acquaintances who had come out to say 'farewell,' the hurried recognition of the members of the Dalhousie party, formed a succession of distractions, and it was not till the ship had rounded St. Helens and was cutting her lovely track through the quiet waters that my senses seemed to come to the realities of my novel position.

"At five o'clock we were summoned to dinner, and as we were about to enter upon an 'intercourse which might be expected to continue for more than three months, it became a matter of interest to ascertain on what terms it was likely to be carried on. Our party consists of eight, and are thus arranged and in such order as I conceive will be maintained throughout the voyage—Capt. Fitz-Clarence at the head of the table; on his left, Lady Dalhousie, the Bishop of Calcutta, and Colonel Ramsey; at his right hand, Lord Dalhousie, Mr. Carter (Bishop's Chaplain), then Capt. Macmulham of the Artillery (Lord Dalhousie's aide-de-camp); at the foot of the table, Dr. Ramsey. Of the individual members composing this

party I do not feel warranted to speak. You have an outline of the group, and however you might desire to be presented with portraits of the several persons comprising it, it would be a sad breach of the privileges of social intercourse if I were to undertake to be the artist. It is sufficient to say that all I had previously heard and observed was abundantly confirmed by this evening's experience, and I was quite satisfied that my place was fixed amongst those to whom the feelings and habits of the best society were familiar.

"We went on deck in the evening, and at ten o'clock I retired to my cabin, where I found my cot slung and all ready for repose. As I write in the main to 'landsmen, it may be necessary to explain what you are to understand by a 'cabin' and a 'cot.' My cabin, then, is a little apartment, squared off from the main deck with a wainscot of bulkheads. It is rather more than ten feet long and something less in breadth. The division towards the deck is fitted with Venetian blinds, and as there is a port-hole and the gun has been taken away, I shall have the great advantage of a free current of air. Lengthways in this cabin the cot is slung, high enough to be clear of the table and other furniture, the lines being shortened so as to prevent it from striking against the side when the ship rolls. To this rest with some difficulty I betook myself, and passed the night as snugly as the incessant noise of the ship would allow. We were what seamen call beating to windward, and it was therefore necessary for the ship to tack very often. Now the business of tacking a ship is much too complicated and demands too many hands to admit of its being done silently. Every half-hour, therefore, I heard the tramp of a hundred men immediately over my head, sounding like thunder on the deck beneath which, at the distance of about two feet, I was suspended. This was bad enough, but at daylight the whole of the deck was to be washed and scrubbed with what the sailors call the Holy Stone, a process which the combined efforts of all the

knife-grinders and all the housemaids in London could not easily surpass.

"At seven o'clock I turned out of my cot, which was immediately taken away, and the sleeping-place became in an instant a neat and comfortable dressing-room or study. A very refreshing walk on deck brought us to the breakfast hour (nine o'clock), and would (but for other causes) have brought with it a good appetite for breakfast. Those other causes were soon in full operation; ten minutes after breakfast I was obliged to retire to my cabin, and the whole day was spent not so much in positive suffering as under a sense of expected evil, and an utter incapacity to accomplish, or even to begin, anything. The wind was contrary, blowing what is called a fresh gale, and the ship laboured greatly, so there was good cause to be disgusted. From the sofa I soon took to my cot, in which I swung through the whole of the next day, occasionally very sick and sometimes very sleepy, but never in that state of violent exhaustion which I have sometimes experienced in shorter voyages. The wind had increased considerably, and matters looked so little promising that it was resolved by our captain to put into Plymouth. About noon we anchored within the breakwater, and our whole party very gladly set foot on firm ground about three o'clock. It was not easy at first to persuade ourselves that the ground was firm. The very granite pavement of Plymouth streets seemed dancing under our feet, and all around us was in a whirl.

"We passed (July 20th) close to the Eddystone lighthouse, and before night, had made considerable way towards the Atlantic. The next day we were beating about the mouth of the Channel from Scilly to Ushant, but on Wednesday night the wind got well round to the north and cheerily carried us forward. Sunday, about noon, we saw Finisterre. The breeze has since been more and more favourable and we are going forward at the rate of 200 miles (or nearly so) in the twenty-four hours. The

ship steady, the sea smooth, and with all our comforts about us in as great abundance as they could be enjoyed in any well-ordered family on shore. Our days pass thus : At seven I turn out of my cot, which is taken, packed, and carried on deck in about three minutes, leaving my room free. The weather being so fine the port-hole may be opened immediately, and the sweet morning air brings freshness with it delightfully. I continue below until 8.30, when, commonly, all the party may be found on deck, busily pursuing their morning walk. We breakfast at nine precisely, and remain together either in the after-cabin or on deck till ten. At ten I have some Scripture reading in my cabin, which is attended by my servants and a young person confided to my care. The whole morning is spent uninterruptedly by us in writing and reading till about two or sometimes later. Then a walk on deck, most assiduously persevered in, brings us to half-past three. We prepare for dinner at four ; then the deck again, or our cabins, till eight, when we meet at tea in the after-cabin, and retire about ten. Bear in mind that our whole appointments are as complete as possible ; that the dining-room is as well supplied, the drawing-room as well furnished, as the most luxurious taste could desire ; and you will begin to perceive that the difficulties which lie in the way of an Episcopal missionary are not those of privation or hardship ; for ‘Satan now is wiser than of yore ; and tempts by making rich, not making poor.’ Our difficulties will, I foresee, continue to be in the blandishments of the station, and we have no right to complain that it is so ; human aid, if given to our work, must be given in this shape, and I trust we shall be protected from the evil consequences that might follow, so long as we look on these things not as privileged indulgences, but as an appointed mode of trial. In the meantime, the great anxiety is that we may become useful to those with whom we are for a season joined in such closeness of intercourse.

“ On Thursday, July 30th, at daylight we were in sight

of the Island of Porto Santa, which lies to the north of Madeira, and when we went on deck after breakfast the master's practised eye could discern Madeira itself right ahead. In the course of an hour its broad headlands became distinctly visible ; and we stood in close enough to distinguish with our glasses many of the objects on shore, and to discuss the comparative beauty and variableness of the several residences. The wind fell off as we rounded the Brazen Head, the northern limit of the Funchal Roads ; so that we were the whole afternoon in getting up to the anchorage, about a mile from the shore, abreast of the town. The approach (as you have read in a dozen books of description) is very striking. Will it carry any idea to your mind if you are told that it is exactly what Madeira should be ? The richness and variety of the scenery are heightened by one of the purest atmospheres of the tropics. It was easy at once to see that the foliage which so much delighted us was made up from ingredients very different from any we had been accustomed to ; and that the dark brushwood of the Isle of Wight must give place to many things more rich and strange. Then the deep, deep blue of the calm smooth sea, out of which this lovely picture seemed to rise, gave it all that could be wished of colour, in harmony with the still varying tints of the declining summer sun. A calm night followed, and that I might not lose an opportunity of enjoying a scene I most delight in—sunrise—I was on deck with the first dawn, and saw this lovely landscape gradually disclosing itself, till the moment when the powerful king of day, 'rejoicing in the east,' began to touch the lofty peaks in succession with that very brightness which we never see at any other period of his course. The sight was indeed glorious, and when I wish to recall to my recollection how strange an effect can be produced by combination of natural beauties, I shall bid my thoughts rest on 'Funchal Roads' at sunrise."

Dr. Turner enlarges here somewhat on the natural

beauties of Madeira, and, asking what shall he say of those who dwell among them? continues :

“It is fearful to think how frequently we find occasion to apply the lines—

“‘Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile ;’

but nowhere, surely, can they be applied with greater justice than in this fair island. The English inhabitants—about forty or fifty families—may be described as such as you may find in any commercial town of note in England ; and exhibit nothing but what may be looked upon as an average specimen of mercantile refinement. I speak from general impressions, and those formed only on the surface. Those who seek for pearls must dive below, and they may pick up something more precious than fell within my observation. From my friends, Mrs. and Mr. P., I heard much about the Portuguese and it would be hard to conceive moral evils and political corruption debased to a lower point. The new plans introduced by the ‘Constitutionalists’ had given a promise of better days ; poor and mean and ill-instructed as they were, a change for the better was their object, and as soon as they knew how, would have accomplished it. But unhappily they had not the spirit to maintain what they had the sense to desire, and gave up their cause to a handful of wretched Miguelites sent from Lisbon, and aided by the mad multitudes, with the priest at their head. The grievous thing is that with a hundred men of tolerable spirit to have kept the rabble in check, and a hundred more to have shown a front to the invaders, the island might have been saved. But those who had any power or influence made use of it only as a means of pecuniary interest, and the rest yielded like dastards without striking a blow. You may form some idea of the state of the public mind when I tell you that the image of our ‘Lady of the Mount’ was exhibited for several days with her petticoats all soiled and

dirty, in proof, as the priest gravely told the people, and as they believed, that 'she had been down to the shore to assist in person at the landing of the Miguelites.' Such is the state of what is called religion among these wretched people: and the state of morals is equally low. The monastic clergy friars have the character of practising the greatest enormities, and the parish clergy do not scruple to make use of the power they exercise in the confessional for the very worst purposes.

"Now these things the Constitutionalists would have mended. They would have curtailed the power of the monastic orders, by diminishing their numbers and getting hold of their wealth. As education went forward, public opinion would have kept the parish clergy in check; and to the cause of education all Constitutionalists are really, or by profession, devoted. They had allowed and encouraged Mr. P. to establish a large school. An individual had been selected and sent to England for education as a master, and in the meantime a school-house was built, and land set apart for this purpose, capable of holding 300 boys. The master returned very efficient as a teacher, with a sad propensity to meddle in politics. This might have involved him personally in difficulties, but the school might have continued had not a sweeping order come from Lisbon to suspend all boys' schools for the present. A girls' school, under the management of my friend, Mrs. P., still lingers on, but the Portuguese ladies have withdrawn their assistance, and the prospect is altogether discouraging. The English are not united in opinion on this matter, and at the present moment any strenuous exertion would be unadvisable. The probability is, therefore, that the whole will come to an end.

"*August 27.* Lat. $9^{\circ} 40'$ S. If it be true of individuals, as it is of nations, that the happiest periods of their history are those which present nothing to record, we may regard ourselves as largely abounding in this negative happiness. How much cause have we for thankfulness!

We have been brought thus far in peace and safety, and the wide perilous ocean has been made to us a way hedged up by the protecting care of a kind Providence. I am more and more struck with the indifference with which such dispensations of mercy are regarded. Again and again it is forced upon my mind that had we been placed in any circumstances of visible hazard and hardly been delivered, our joy and gratitude would have known no bounds; but because we have been saved not only from danger, but from fear of danger, we take the whole as a matter of ordinary experience, and day succeeds to day, and night to day, each marked with overflowing mercies, and our hearts are like the mainmast. It is under no common circumstances that protection is so given to these sailing vessels. From Plymouth to Madeira we went as on a pleasure trip, and from Madeira hence, with the exception of a few days of light winds and harassing calms off the Cape de Verde Islands, we have done the same. Not one single occurrence which could bear the name of misfortune has befallen either the ship or any individual of the ship's company, except one man who broke his arm while practising reefing topsails. Not a single mast or spar has been carried away.

"We crossed the line last Sunday evening; the thirty-fifth day since we left Plymouth. Deduct three days for our stay at Madeira, and we have thirty-two clear sailing days: a much shorter passage than is common, notwithstanding the perfect quietness with which it has been accomplished. On Monday the usual revels took place, and Neptune practised all his usual absurdities (as established). I believe except Lady Dalhousie and myself there was not one individual in the ship who did not get a thorough drenching in the course of the hour and a half during which the sports lasted. The whole was conducted with perfect good-humour, and it has served to diversify our cabin conversation, which was beginning to partake in no small degree of the monotonous. Lord Dalhousie, a man of strong sense and very various experience, is not a

talker, and Lady D., though cultivated and extensively informed, has not lived much with talking people. The rest of us are too little above the average to present any accession of novelties, especially after we have been digging for six weeks, morning, noon, and night, *sans intermission*. We are now also out of the way for meeting ships, an incident always regarded with much interest by every person on board. A Glasgow trader was the last we encountered, who promised to report 'all well.'

"Sept. 2, 1829. Off Cape Rio. We made the land yesterday evening, dears, after a most expeditious and peaceful voyage across the Atlantic. Few ships do it in so short a time, and none certainly ever accomplished a run of 5,000 miles with so little inconvenience. It has been summer sailing all the way, and except that the heat was occasionally oppressive while we were off the Cape de Verde Islands, not an individual on board has had occasion to complain. Our cabin party have enjoyed their full share of this merciful dispensation. I never saw eight persons who seemed to have so large a stock of health and spirits.

"H.M.S. *Pallas* at sea. Once more in possession of that which I have been accustomed to consider the quiet of my cabin, I sit down to journalize. My journal will have brought you down to the morning when we anchored at Rio de Janeiro. The approach to the coast had been very interesting. In the morning of the 2nd of Sept. we were well in with Cape Finis, a fine bold headland such as a voyager would expect to see after crossing the Atlantic; and the whole coast, which turns here abruptly to the westward, had something wild and un-European in its aspect. We made a steady progress, but the night had fallen before we were in sight of the very peculiar landmarks which point out the entrance of the harbour of Rio. Soon after sunset a light was visible in the direction of the harbour, but our cautious master knew nothing of a lighthouse on this portion of the coast. He regarded this, therefore, as an object to be shunned, and the ship was put about.

"I was on deck at dawn. The ship's head was once more towards the shore, which she was nearing rapidly. An extensive range of coast was visible from the deck, and every hour the interest of the scene increased, as we were able to discern more clearly the fantastic outlines of the several ranges of mountains as they rose in succession from the very shore to a remarkable distance inland. We felt the influence of the sea breeze, but it was not strong enough to do more than waft us slowly towards the lofty peak of the Sugar Loaf Mountain, which stands like a huge sea mark at the mouth of the harbour. With the assistance of a boat which towed us for a mile or two we saved the tide, and at sunset came to anchor abreast of the town in the very centre of the noblest bay, I will not say in the world, for that is more than I can undertake to answer for, but certainly the noblest I have ever seen or become acquainted with by description. We found at anchor an English 74 (the *Warspite*); two large French frigates, one with an Admiral's flag; and a large American (the *Hudson*) displaying a Commodore's broad pennant. Half a dozen Brazilian men-of-war, of all sizes and fashions, were anchored here and there; while beyond, and nearer to the shore, were crowded mercantile ships of all sizes and all nations that pretend to carry a flag.

"The next morning I was again on deck by dawn. Though disappointed of the special object I had in view—sunrise—there was much that was very interesting. The grey mists that hung heavily around the ship, at first on all sides, dispersed as the sun rose high enough to produce effect upon them, and disclosed in succession the shipping, the town, and one by one the islands in the bay and the mountains beyond, from their palm-clad base to their granite summits. For I must bid you observe that all the mountains down to the edge of the water are granite, and exhibit in a most remarkable manner the features of that formation, running up to conical peaks of vast height. The scene immediately round the ship was very amusing.

Several boats alongside were filled with oranges, bananas, yams, and all that could be likely to tempt those who had been limited for so many weeks to the contents of a ship's larder. We were anchored, too, exactly in the track of the passage boats which plied from the city to the opposite side of the bay. These were passing in rapid succession each rowed by four or six negroes and carrying two graceful triangular sails. They are crowded with people on their way to their daily business. The rowers exhibited the first specimen which came under our notice of the genuine negro slave. They were clad in a pair of coarse trousers, which were the only encumbrance they wore by way of clothing—though some of them, we could observe, were loaded with an iron collar. They plied their oars in a standing posture, with great alacrity and vigour. The sun was now shining out brilliantly, and the whole scene, adding as it did to intrinsic beauty and interest, the charm of entire novelty, was much to be remembered. After breakfast we had to receive visits from the Admiral and relate the past, and to talk over possible arrangements for spending the period of our stay ashore. Lady Dalhousie agreed to go with me on an exploring mission, to look at a house which had been left empty by Lord Ponsonby on his recent departure, where it was supposed we might all abide. So at two the ship's barge conveyed us to the palace stairs, the most frequented landing place, where a calèche drawn by four mules had been ordered to wait.

“For the first time I found myself in the midst of a slave population, and certainly nothing which the town offered to our notice excited any interest in comparison with the crowds of negroes we encountered under every conceivable form of wretchedness, toil, and merriment. Of the latter the proportion was most remarkable, as it was not unfrequently seen in combination with the other two. We had not gone through half a dozen streets before we could discover that it was impossible for the hardest labour and most squalid misery of appearance to prevent a negro from

the expression of fun. Their large mouths seemed crammed with rows of white tusks for the sole purpose of grinning. Our object led us through the streets in the centre of the town, which was ill-built and worse paved. The streets were straight but narrow, with all manner of filthiness; nor was there one edifice which had the least pretension to architectural magnificence. After much tossing in our rough calèche over broken causeways, miry from last night's storm, we found ourselves again on the shores of the bay, and admired the situation of the church of St. Senora Maria da Gloria, which is placed on a bold hill and is just not contemptible as a structure. It is a favourite church with the Brazilians, and gives her name to the young Queen now in England. Thence, still by the sea shore, and still through crowds of negroes engaged in every conceivable occupation, singing, grinning, and making merry, we jolted forward to Bota Foga, where we had appointed a general rendezvous. I endeavour to avoid superlatives in the few descriptions I attempt, but of what I saw of Bota Foga Bay, no fair representation can be given without an overpowering use of superlatives. It is a perfect fairy gem. Imagine a cove completely in appearance land-locked; on two sides the granite hills rise abruptly, on the third a beach of pure whites and sweeps in a graceful curve, and along its margin most of the foreigners of distinction have their villas. Then the deep blue of the sea, the brighter blue of the clear sky, and the clouds but partially concealed by the gorgeous foliage and flowers which are the boast of tropical vegetation—all these lit up with a splendid sunshine. Endeavour, dears, to put together these materials of colour, sunshine and shadow, and you will make a lovely picture but not so lovely as the real Bota Foga which was opened out before us as we drove along. The house we came to look at was very delightful, and charmingly situated, but the project of settling down in it during our stay was voted impracticable, though the *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Acton, was very desirous to bring it to bear. In Mr. Acton I found an

old Vienna acquaintance. He was attached to the British Embassy when I was there in 1820, and we had been on terms of much intimacy. Our meeting was very cordial, and I believe a cause of great satisfaction to both.

"It is now what they regard as the cool weather at Rio, and we found it delightful; but during our drive the heat has been most oppressive, and would have been intolerable but for the sea breeze which wakes every day between ten and twelve and brings refreshment and health with it. The Brazilians seem to trust entirely to it as their defence against heat, and build their houses without verandah or shutters or any precaution, so long as they can get the sea breeze. Every situation is valuable exactly in proportion as it is more or less open to it; and those sites where its influence cannot reach are for the most part unoccupied. Soon after sunset a land wind comes down from the mountains, less refreshing than its opposite, but still very grateful; and this regularly received double-ventilation every twenty-four hours makes the climate of Rio not tolerable merely, but, except in the very height of its fierce summer, agreeable, and, as far as a tropical climate can be so considered, not unwholesome. With moderate care, the Europeans have for the most part good health.

"*Wednesday, Sept. 9th.*—We dined with the admiral, who has a small house ashore. The French and American officers were of the party, and I found myself at table side by side with the Yankee commodore. He proved a dull, heavy person, but was well inclined to be civil, and invited me to see his ship—an opportunity I was glad to profit by, as a first-class American frigate was an object of much curiosity.

"*Thursday.*—The American commodore's barge was at the landing-place by ten, and conveyed us rapidly on board the *Hudson*. The commodore and his officers were expecting us, and the ship was in holiday trim for our reception. Behold me, then, interchanging all manner of civilities with a circle of as rough-looking individuals as ever aspired to

the name of gentlemen, and winding my way across an American quarter-deck to the tune of 'Hail, Columbia.' And a fair sight the deck presented. I have not been so many weeks aboard without picking up some scraps of nautical observation; enough to enable me to know the difference between a jib-boom and the jolly boat, and I was much interested by examining what I had so often heard described—the complete appointment of an American ship of war. I cannot say there was any appearance of reluctance in the officers to display their advantages; on the contrary, they were quite ready to show everything, and to proclaim its pre-eminent excellence. I saw enough to convince me that our officers have abundant reason to be jealous of the style of equipment which their rivals have attained; but there was a feeling all along that this was a show ship sent out and kept up for the purpose of being looked at, and it was quite impossible to draw any conclusion from it as to the real state of the American navy. The discipline is said to be severe, and certainly the tone and manners of the midshipman who commanded the barge yesterday were quite as peremptory as those of the most absolute young gentleman we could have found in the *Pallas*.

"The Americans very obligingly took us ashore, and I proceeded to pay a visit of a very different character to the old Bishop of Rio de Janeiro. I had been told that he was most kind to our Protestant minister, and on all occasions was ready to pay friendly attentions to the English residents. Having, therefore, taken the precaution of ascertaining from Mr. Acton that there was no political reason against such a measure, I caused a message to be conveyed to him that I should be happy to be allowed to pay my respects in person. A very obliging reply was returned, and I had now to fulfil the appointment. Mr. Crane, the English chaplain, accompanied me, and having left the carriage at the foot of a steep hill on which the Episcopal palace is situated, we ascended about halfway when we were addressed in English by a little square-built

man in a priest's garb with a goodly star upon his breast, who was introduced to me as Father Tilbury, the bishop's chaplain and almoner. He announced himself as appointed to receive me, and under his guidance we passed through sundry courts and up and down mean staircases till we came to a long dark room fitted up at one end with a faded canopy. On one side stood a sofa, on which I was invited to rest. A large chair, or rather something more than a chair, though not quite a throne, was placed opposite. Mr. Crane, Father Tilbury, and a young man in a priest's dress, who appeared to be in attendance, arranged themselves at the lower end of the room. After a short time the bishop came in, and after preliminary compliments we seated ourselves *vis-à-vis*, the others standing as before, at first, though after an interval Mr. C. and Father T. were invited to sit. Our conversation was carried on in French, and with Father Tilbury's occasional aid it ran on pretty smoothly. Nothing could be more urbane and candid than the bishop's whole demeanour. He intimated that his attention had of late been much drawn to the subject of India, and that he was anxious to enlarge his means of information. He reads English without much difficulty, and I mentioned works, some of which he had read and some he meant to read. He spoke shortly of the former state of the Portuguese Church, and of its present condition. He expressed his satisfaction that a charge so important had been entrusted to one who seemed in age and bodily strength so competent to meet its duties, and concluded a very pleasant conversation by bidding me 'God speed, comme un frère en Jesus Christ.'

"Thus ended the first conference between a Protestant prelate and the Catholic bishop of Rio de Janeiro. Father Tilbury offered to show me any of the sights of Rio, and I was glad to put myself under his guidance for an hour or two. We went to see, first, the diamond-polishing establishment; then to a school of arts recently established on a large scale by the emperor, and crowded with portraits.

“ *Wednesday, 16th.*—I was roused before daylight by the boatswain’s hoarse call—‘ All hands to weigh anchor ! ’ I went on deck forthwith, and found our ship just casting off under the faint moonlight. It was a lovely scene, and I enjoyed much the display of perfect steadiness and seamanship of our active officers and ship’s company. Every one was at his post. The most perfect order and silence prevailed and was maintained throughout some very difficult evolutions which were necessary to disentangle us from the crowd of ships around. The wind was light, and as soon as we were in motion the boat from one of the admiral’s ships came to our aid to tow us out. Within a quarter of an hour the Frenchmen sent theirs, and then the American ; so that when the sun rose upon us abreast of the *Fait di Santa* brig, we had boats ahead all pulling stoutly away as if they would have towed off the whole town of Rio, with all its slaves and stores. They took us out about two miles. The land breeze was then strong enough to aid us forward, and before sunset we had lost sight of the American coast and were once more in the blue waters.

“ *H.M.S. Pallas* at sea. South Indian Ocean, *October, 1829.*—Go back with me for a few days, and imagine me careering over the South Atlantic at the rate of about 200 miles a day. As the third week drew to a close, our speculation as to the probable day of arrival at the Cape became very occupying, and the log-book referred to as often and the ship’s rate discussed as eagerly by the passengers in the cabin as by the officers in the gun-room. On the evening of the twentieth day from Rio, our cautious, excellent master said to me—‘ You will see land to-morrow if you are on deck as early as usual.’ At dawn I was on deck, and about half-past six o’clock Mr. Thompson (the master), as he was keenly on the look-out, pointed to an object right ahead of us, which seemed ‘ like a little cloud not bigger than a man’s hand,’ and announced that it was the high ground above Table Bay. We were running at a great rate, and a couple of hours served to confirm his

intelligence, and showed us the whole coast, barren, rugged, and covered with sand drifts, from the Simon's and Table Mountains to the northern point, which is properly the Cape of Good Hope. This point we rounded about noon, and had then to beat up into False Bay in the very teeth of a fierce north-wester.

"Nothing could be more beautiful than the display of seamanship which followed. Our gallant frigate was handled with a quickness and precision which were most interesting. The steadiness, attention, and silence of the crew, the rush of wind, the breaking of the heavy swell, and our ship bounding over all and through all, made us forget for a season a landsman's feelings, and believe that there really might be something pleasurable

'In the gallant breeze,
And white wave rushing by.'

At nightfall we had so far made good our object as to come to a secure anchorage just short of Simon's Town, having thus accomplished the passage from Rio in twenty-one days, during which time we had run 3,610 miles! The aspect of False and Simon's Bay is wild and desolate in no common degree. The mountains, abrupt, very lofty, and presenting a strange varied outline, rise at once from the sea, and their rugged, barren sides wore an appearance of greater desolation from the vast heaps of sea-sand which whiten them at intervals like huge snow-drifts.

"Our glasses had told us that we should find much English comfort blended with Dutch neatness in the well-built little assemblage of white dwellings Simon's Town exhibited, and we all began to delight in the anticipation of finding a pleasing contrast to the filth and abomination of Rio. The *Eugene*, sloop of war, was lying in the bay, and her captain (Greville) came off while we were at breakfast. At noon our whole party went ashore—Lady D. to gather flowers, Lord D. to take a walk, and I, for my *chief* object, simply to be on shore, which after three weeks' con-

tinued 'nauticals' comprises all imaginable comforts in a single word. Our comforts, however, were much greater than we had ventured to hope. An excellent hotel, kept by a very pleasing, well-mannered person, who proved himself competent to give us a great deal of information, received us; and a nicely appointed dinner, with fruit and vegetables at discretion, and everything English about us, seemed for a season to beguile us into a notion that we were 'at home.' Our walk had been very invigorating, and the wondrous variety and profusion of flowers spread around us had added in no small degree to its interest. This was the season of early spring, and the roadside was like a vast and well-assorted greenhouse. All the most delicate shrubs which we are accustomed to prize so highly were in full blaze of beauty and of bloom, and as every hand was employed to gather for Lady Dalhousie, our collection before we reached home was large and various beyond relief.

"Mr. Carter and I, in fulfilment of our purpose, remained ashore, and found our landlady as careful in the appointment of our bedchambers as she had proved herself in purveying our dinner. The north-wester raged furiously during the evening, and with such a plump of rain that Mr. Carter, in three minutes' exposure to it, was drenched to the skin.

"*Friday, October 9th.*—While we were at breakfast, an aide-de-camp of Sir Lowry Cole's arrived with invitations to Government House from Lady Frances Cole, Sir Lowry being absent on the frontier. I had resolved not to accept such invitation, but rather to fix myself at an hotel, in the apprehension that I should prove a disagreeable inmate if it should turn out that I was much occupied with public business, and moreover in the fear that I should be much interfered with and that the time which ought to be given to useful inquiries and pursuits would be taken up by the restraints of formal intercourse. I intimated this intention to Mr. Miles, the aide-de-camp, who remonstrated against it very earnestly and very good-humouredly. Happily I liked his

mode of taking up the matter, and allowed myself to be persuaded. So a new letter was written to accept, instead of refuse, Lady F. Cole's invitation. And well it was for me that I was thus persuaded. Had I missed the pleasure and advantage of being an inmate of Government House, it would indeed have been most vexatious.

"I had sent a notice of my intention to visit the school of Simon's Town, and the master in consequence had called on me. After him came the Colonial Chaplain, Mr. Start, a man worn down by sickness and infirmity, of whom nothing more need be said. The school I found in very commendable order, no thanks to Mr. Start, but to a very worthy man the master, by name Norman. He was well aided by a poor frightened-looking English widow woman. They managed the girls' school between them. They had one hundred and fifty-two children in charge, of all colours and tribes, but chiefly Dutch and English. I gave them a very diligent examination for an hour, and certainly have often found village schools in England much farther behind in every respect. After our visit, and a long conversation with Mr. Start in the hope of devising a plan for rebuilding the church, which had fallen down about seven years ago and now lies in ruins, we prepared to start for Cape Town.

"Equipages had been sent down for us, and we found in array at the hotel door three very neat and well-appointed coaches and six. The coachmen were Malays, and they drove with all the horses in hand at a rate and with a dexterity which would have astonished Mr. Westerham and Mr. Gates not a little. The road for the most part lay along the seashore, and it was as much as our six steeds could accomplish to trot with us through the sand. We passed a fishing station called Fish Bank Bay, a great resort of whalers, and then we got upon the Land Road. The rest of the drive was delightful, the high grounds of the Constantia vineyards were on our left, and the country became more thickly peopled. Farms, vineyards, villas, presented themselves in quick succession. The rich foliage of the

American scarlet oak adorned all the hedgerows. Geraniums, heaths, irises, the large pearly-white arum, and all the inmates of our greenhouses, glittered on all sides. The road was bordered by handsome houses in the most finished style of Dutch neatness, was hard as a rock and smooth as a bowling-green. Our six small high-mettled horses gave the Malays but little cause to use whip or rein.

"About four miles from the town we came in full view of the Table Mountain. The town and its rapidly extending suburbs lay at its foot, and the blue waters of Table Bay, with the shipping, and a dusky range of mountains beyond, completed a strikingly magnificent picture. The Table Mountain itself is so remarkable that it would have satisfied all we could have asked, but we saw it at a moment when its accompaniments were almost equally interesting. The white buildings stretched along the margin of the blue sea and the grey mountain standing with its dark fantastic outline against the blue sky, and all lit up with such a flood of evening glory!

"Wander we may far and near, and wander long, before we meet with so much to admire as greeted our entrance to Cape Town. We drove to Government House, where I had the very great pleasure of being made known to Lady Frances Cole. The reception we met with at once enabled me to see what I should have lost if I had persisted in my purpose of declining her proffered kindness. Mr. Hough, the senior chaplain, called immediately on my arrival, as did Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, the Secretary to Government, whose wife, Lady Catherine, is sister to Lady Frances Cole. They are daughters, as it may perhaps be necessary to apprise you, of the late Lord Malmesbury. A large party was assembled at dinner. It was very charming to discover in Lady Frances a mind fully made up on all points of real moment, the sobriety and force of character which belongs to the convinced practical Christian, tempered and adorned by considerable intellectual culture and the highest good breeding. We had many topics in common, and thus were

led on very far, before the evening closed, towards that mutual goodwill which opens the way to intimacy. Lady Catherine Bell, too, was worthy such a sister, and a delightful group of well-ordered, cheerful, unobtrusive children filled up the picture. A very pleasant young Oxford man, who proved to be brother to an old Eton acquaintance of mine, was of the party as tutor to the boys. On the whole, a party could not have been assembled more to my mind, and my first evening in South Africa was entirely a season of unmingled satisfaction.

"*Saturday, 10th.*—An early morning walk made me acquainted in detail with some of the pleasant environs of this nicely situated town, and confirmed all my favourable impressions. After breakfast I was overwhelmed with visitors, in addition to the Residents and Functionaries of the Colony. All who had connexion with India, personally or by their relatives, held themselves bound to call. Among the Cape functionaries was Mr. Wilberforce Bird, an uncle of the Bishop of Chester (Sumner), whom I had long known by name and character, and to whom of course I was not wholly a stranger. He is Comptroller of the Customs, and had resided in the Colony nearly twenty years. Another of my visitors was an old Christ Church man, who reminded me that we were undergraduates together. He is an advocate in the Calcutta bar, and had come to the Cape to look for health, which he thought he had found. His appearance served only to prove how small a share of that blessing is highly valued by those who have long known the want of it by a residence in Bengal. If Mr. Maxwell had told me he had just come away I should have understood him, but to hear him talk of going back and resuming his duties with his sunken eyes and enfeebled frame, was most distressing.

"*Sunday.* — An early morning walk up the side of Table Mountain was in all respects beneficial. Health, spirits, everything felt the effect of the fine sunshine and fresh morning air. In conversation with Lady Frances Cole the preceding evening, Bishop Heber had been much

our theme, and it was very delightful to hear his character and his services appreciated as they ought to be by such a mind as Lady F. Cole's. In my solitary walk this morning, the thread of reflection was taken up again, and pursued with all the interest it uniformly excites when I am led to dwell on it. A little poem of John Marriott's occurred to me as affording a mould into which the thoughts of the present moment might be poured. It was written on the death of Nelson, but I can recall nothing of it to memory except the general structure and the two first lines. This outline and fragment I had made up into something like a whole before I reached Government House on my return to breakfast. I send you a copy of them :

"Yes, we will weep, but not the tear
Of sorrow, over Heber's bier.
Freely, let nature's torrent flow,
Yet not a single drop for woe.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as thou and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

Far then be grief, and let thine eye
Kindle with pleasure's holiest ray,
Like him of old, who watched on high
His prophet-master's homeward way.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as thou and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

The chariot and the steeds are there ;
Hope wings their course ; Faith points the road,
And many a blessing, many a prayer,
Rises as he soars to meet his God.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as you and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

"You must consider this, dears, as an adaptation rather than an original poem, unless the peculiar fitness and close

resemblance of the circumstances may be allowed to take the place of originality.

“ At half-past eleven we went to church. Is it not monstrous that now at the end of twenty years' occupation of this Colony there is no English church yet built ; and one single duty on Sunday is in consequence the only celebration of divine service which the people at Cape Town have the means of attending. The senior Colonial Chaplain, Mr. Hough, is a most excellent man, and his talents as a preacher are such as would enable him to command attention from any congregation. Nor are the British inhabitants disinclined to give support to the Established Church, but it has been considered good policy not to favour the Establishment. Apprehensions have been entertained that the Dutch inhabitants would take umbrage if anything were done for an Episcopal Church. Poor Mr. Hough must have been sorely tried during the seventeen years he has spent in the Colony. With all his desire to advance a better state of things, he does not venture to allow himself to hope that the time can ever arrive when that desire shall be fulfilled. Yet it may be that the time is *now* come. There seems to be a concurrence of circumstances highly favourable at this moment, and perhaps my visit could not in some respects have been timed better. The manner in which it is made may perhaps have its public advantages. As it is not invested with any political character, my inquiries do not expose me to jealousy from men in office. In the personal character of Sir Lowry Cole and Lady Frances there is all that could be called for ; and Colonel Bell, the Colonial Secretary, is a man of first-rate talents, and ready to further any means by which the Colony may be benefited. Mr. Hough is much esteemed at Government House, and his hands will be strengthened by all the influence they can exercise.

“ The favourable disposition of the principal inhabitants towards our Church is evinced in every way—in none more strikingly than in the alacrity with which funds have been

provided for the erection of a church in Cape Town. The matter had been under consideration since Bishop James's visit, but nothing had been effected till Colonel Bell took it up a few weeks ago, and his interference was so strenuous that I found the whole arrangement on the verge of completion. In Sir Lowry Cole's absence my communications were to be carried on through Colonel Bell. It was advisable, therefore, that we should thoroughly understand each other; but Colonel Bell was evidently too wise a man to commit himself at once to a stranger. I saw he was carefully taking soundings like a prudent navigator before he ventured to let go his anchor. So I left him to take his own way and form his own conclusions. I knew I could not force a confidence, yet unless we went to work confidentially nothing could be done. With Mr. Hough there was no need of management. So after morning church on Sunday I invited him to a walk in Government House Gardens, and for two hours and a half we were in full talk, and I was enabled to make out in pretty accurate detail what had been done and what had not been done by or for our Church in the Colony.

"Thus in possession of something like a knowledge of the real state of affairs, I am ready for a conference whenever Colonel Bell invites me. To my great satisfaction, the invitation was given that very evening in the form of a request that I would breakfast with him the next morning. I was at my appointment, and we had four hours' good talk, as I believe to our mutual satisfaction. I might now consider myself in a condition to form an opinion of the whole matter. I sat down, therefore, forthwith, and embodied the conclusions to which I had been brought after the best deliberation I could exercise, in the form of a letter to Sir George Murray, conveying as precisely and clearly as I was able a statement of the means which might be resorted to for the purpose of creating a Church Establishment in the Colony. Do as I would, it was impossible not to make this a long story. However, I had finished the

drift of a letter by the next morning (Tuesday), and got another hour from Colonel Bell that we might go over it together. When finished to my mind, I had to undergo the misery of transcribing it in my *fairest* hand (happily my writing-table was not rolled about by a heavy swell as it is at this minute). I then got two copies made—one for Sir Lowry Cole, and the other to be enclosed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"You may suppose I had not much idle time between Monday morning and Tuesday afternoon, especially as visitors continued to pour in and I had certain other conferences to hold—(1st) with the trustees for building the church, who had all their plans and estimates to submit before they took their final decision; (2nd) with the directors of a new college, which was in the very act of commencement at Cape Town, and the arrangements it involved were in the highest degree interesting and important; (3rd) a. Philanthropic Society for the Redemption of Servant Negroes claimed aid and attention. The intervals of all this business were delightfully filled up in the society at Government House, which had received a pleasing addition in a Mrs. Dundee (wife of Major Dundee, Sir Lowry Cole's military secretary, and brother to my friend Mr. Callcott). Nothing could be more satisfactory than the tone of right-mindedness which pervaded the whole circle. It was most wholesome and refreshing.

"*Friday morning, October 6th*, opened with a conference with the Committee and Treasurer of the Redemption Society, to whom I hope to be of some service by procuring them a grant from the fund in London. At eleven I was to visit the Government Schools in Cape Town, which proved to be wretched and without hope of improvement, as both masters are utterly incapable. They are under the direction of a Government Commissioner, as are all the schools in the North Colony, but for some reason that does not appear, no effectual restraint is exercised in Cape Town. I suppose in another week's residence and in a few more

visits to the school, I should be able to find out why? As it was, nothing could be done but grumble. My most interesting visit this day was to the Royal Observatory. It is about eight years since an astronomer was appointed to reside at the Cape. An observatory has been built and furnished with a magnificent set of instruments, which are made to render most effectual service by the exercise and diligence of Mr. Fellows, the Astronomer Royal. It does one good to meet with such a public functionary—zealous and most successful in the discharge of his duties. He is awake and active in every mode of usefulness. It was a noble establishment, and in such hands must bear abundant fruit. I was especially delighted with a little chapel which Mr. Fellows has fitted up at his own expense, in the very neatest manner that can be conceived. It was a spare room not wanted for the business of the observatory, which he has converted to this purpose. He invites his neighbours to attend, and not unfrequently has a congregation of forty or fifty. With peculiar propriety he sets apart a portion for his unbaptized servants, and he tells me he has several very interesting individuals making, as he hopes, good progress.

"*Saturday, 17th*, was a day of much business, writing hard from daylight. At ten, a final meeting of the Philanthropic Society—very interesting, and I trust opening a way to important results. At eleven, a grand official visit to the new Academic Institution, and an open conference with the directors. At one o'clock, a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; about a dozen gentlemen, active, well-informed and well-inclined, ready for any good work. The Society's operations are most beneficial, and the demand for copies of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer is very considerable and rapidly increasing. In addition to the communication I had received from the parent Society, it had occurred to me to make an effort for the establishment of Sunday schools in Cape Town under the auspices I had secured. With Lady Frances Cole's approval, and backed by her sanction

and Mr. Hough's cordial support, the measure found ready acceptance, and was, before we separated, put in such a form as seems likely to ensure a very considerable effort at least, whatever the success may be. At half-past three the trustees of the church met me for the last time. They adopted all my recommendations, and determined to proceed forthwith. As soon as Sir Lowry Cole returns, the first stone will be laid.

“*Sunday, 18th.*—Rose at daylight to prepare my address to the candidates for confirmation, which, as I have not mentioned, I had appointed for this morning at a quarter before twelve. The address was finished before breakfast, and I had time to have half an hour's quiet conversation with Lady Frances Cole and Mrs. Dundee in the way of leave-taking. We had an overflowing congregation. The candidates were 123. I said what I wished to address to them before the celebration. I hope it was useful. Certainly it was listened to with great attention. The candidates were of all colours and ages. I tried to make fourteen the lowest point, but it was in some instances impossible to resist the earnest representations of anxious parents.

“Rose at four the next morning, and soon after daylight the *Pallas* weighed anchor. Thus ended a very interesting visit which, whatever results it may lead to (or even if it should lead to none at all), must be looked back upon with much satisfaction. My visit may, however, be productive of important consequences, as it may possibly be the commencement of a new system of management. As to the ecclesiastical concerns of the Church at the Cape, I have been able to send home very full details, and some of the information they furnish will, I expect, be acted on. One opinion I have, viz., that the Cape must be put under episcopal jurisdiction, and that the Bishop of Calcutta is the right person to take care of it. As a means of health and comfort to any individual who may be called to fill that bishopric, the Cape would indeed be most useful. The voyage and the *régime* there, if the right season of the year

were taken, would be most refreshing, and I have no doubt that the apparent waste of time would be compensated for by improved efficiency. The duties when there would be equally entertaining and important. I can hardly imagine a more abounding field of usefulness. If my suggestion should be acceded to, and a patent made out annexing the Cape to the jurisdiction of the diocese, I have promised Lady Frances Cole and Colonel Bell that I will do all I can to make my other arrangements bend so as to allow me to revisit them in about two years ; by which time the church in Cape Town will be finished, and some of the new measures will, if agreed upon, be brought into operation. Certain visions of arrangements which might possibly be brought about in the interval have passed before my mind. The sum of the whole matter is that I have never seen (out of England) so desirable a place to reside in as Cape Town and its neighbourhood."

THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NATIVE STATES OF CENTRAL INDIA.

VERY nearly forty years ago Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand, in reviewing the work done in Central India since the establishment of British supremacy in 1818, wrote : " Our mission cannot, therefore, be said to have altogether failed; though, if weighed in the balance of our opportunities and circumstances, it must be acknowledged to have very partially fulfilled its high duties."

This verdict on the first thirty-two years after the Pindari war was, doubtless, just, though it can hardly be looked upon as satisfactory.

There occurred, during this period, great opportunities for effecting good work and great reforms in the Central India States, owing to the minority of several of their chiefs, and the, consequently, large powers of interference with their affairs then enjoyed by the British Government and its representatives at those Courts.

On the other hand, as Colonel Durand has pointed out, the period was one during which, so long as Central India remained fairly quiet and peaceful, the Supreme Government had its hands too full elsewhere to have leisure for devoting much attention to the internal affairs of its feudatories in Central India and Rajputana. There was, moreover, so much to be done in British provinces before the Government could effectively preach to others; while political officers were so fully engaged in settling the detailed relations, *inter se*, of the numerous small States, that they scarcely thought it within the scope of their duties to interfere further in internal affairs than was necessary to prevent any danger to the general peace.

Before the Mutiny of 1857, the standard to which our own provinces, especially those more recently acquired, had attained, was very far behind that of the present day ; many of them had, indeed, but just passed from under the yoke of a native rule similar to that which still existed in the States of Central India.

Till we had reduced our own provinces to an uniform system, we could scarcely hold them up as a model for the imitation of Native States.

Once British India had, practically, ceased to expand by annexation, its various provinces were gradually reduced to a system of government which, in its general principles, is the same for all ; and, though it has its faults, and those not few, it is far superior to the methods, if, indeed, they are worthy of the name, which still prevail in many of the feudatory States. It was not till the outbreak of 1857 had been stamped out that this reduction of all provinces to the present homogeneity commenced in earnest.

At the present day, the memory of their former dissimilarity, and of the incomplete organization of the newly-annexed territories, still survives in the terms "regulation" and "non-regulation" ; but the real distinction, save in some very wild tracts, has almost completely disappeared.

We can now, without hesitation, urge upon Native States the adoption of a system modelled, so far as may be possible considering their resources and form of government, on our own. They cannot be asked to follow closely the example of British provinces ; for in many cases that system with its rigidity, perhaps its greatest fault, is unsuited, in many details, for their adoption.

Much harm is done by the failure of Native rulers and their officials to grasp this important fact. The officials have, perhaps, been educated and trained in the system adopted in a British district, and are apt, at first, to be red-hot reformers, thinking it their duty to introduce an elaborate form of government and procedure into a semi-civilized country, and forgetting that, under precisely similar circum-

stances, it has taken many years of labour to build up and impose this system where they have seen it in full working order.

A well-disposed chief is equally liable to think that he can step at once from a very rudimentary to a very elaborate form of government, merely because he sees the latter working well alongside his own territory.

It is not in this manner that successful reforms have been worked out in Native States, even under the direct management of English officers. All the most successful experiments in this direction owe their success to the tact and consideration with which they have been conducted. There has been no harsh over-riding of ancient prejudices and ideas, no hurrying on of reforms which, though they may not be actively or openly resisted, are none the less clearly distasteful to a large or influential portion of the community. Where a change is manifestly too advanced to be appreciated it is dropped for the moment, to be again brought forward when the political education of the people, or at least of the ruling classes, has been sufficiently advanced to value it justly.

Colonel Durand's by no means favourable verdict must be accepted; not merely for the first thirty-two years after the settlement of 1818 but for forty years, until the last smouldering embers of the great conflagration of 1857 had been extinguished, and our hands were once more free to work out reforms beyond our own territory.

Having accepted this verdict for the first period of forty years, let us see how far the British Government have carried out their trust in the last thirty years, and what hopes we may entertain of obtaining a more favourable judgment at the expiration of a second period of similar duration.

The Central Indian Agency, as now constituted, may be said to consist of two, more or less, distinct parts. Central India proper includes the great States of Gwalior, Indore, and Bhopal, besides numerous others of minor importance.

The other division comprises the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies, with some thirty-five small States, none of which would, in Malwa, if judged by their revenue and resources, rise above the second rank.

Between these two divisions of Central India there is no very distinct line. The Western States of Bundelkhand merge gradually into the Eastern districts of Gwalior, and Holkar himself possesses an outlying district in the heart of Bundelkhand.

Still, taken as a whole, the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies are very different from Gwalior or the plateau of Malwa. They are essentially the home, in Central India, of the Rajput; whilst in Malwa the supremacy of the Mahratta and the Mahomedan predominates.

The Rajput country and its inhabitants are equally wild; and the warlike character of its people, combined with the general poverty of its land, has saved it from ever being brought so completely under Mahomedan or Mahratta rule as has been the case with the more fertile country, and the less turbulent peoples, of Malwa. Interesting and romantic as it is, Native Bundelkhand is but a poor field for improvement, and will be amongst the last tracts to be brought to anything approaching the condition even of the adjacent British Bundelkhand.

Few of its chiefs are rich enough to do more than satisfy the elementary needs of administration; and, indeed, the majority of them, worthy representatives in breeding and courtesy of an aristocracy more ancient than any in Europe, have little thought of advancing beyond the patriarchal system which has sufficed for them and their subjects through many generations. With some thirty States, few of them producing a revenue greater than that of many an English gentleman, and most of them distinctly antagonistic to, and jealous of one another, it is hopeless to look for such improvement and advance in civilization as we have a right to expect from States of the magnitude of Gwalior, with its revenue of a million and a half; Indore with one-

third, or Bhopal with one-fourth of that amount. The Baghelkhand Agency, though equally with Bundelkhand a Rajput country, has the advantage of being mainly consolidated into the substantial State of Rewah, with a revenue of £130,000. Here great improvements have already been effected, under the direction of a British Superintendent, during the minority of the Maharaja.

The State, when made over for management to the British Government by the late Maharaja, was in a lamentable condition. Courts of justice were practically unknown, the finances were in confusion, no police worthy of the name existed, the greater feudatories of the State openly defied the authority of their chief, and the people were ground down by the oppressive exactions of revenue farmers, who had contracted for terms far in excess of what they could fairly hope to collect.

All this has been changed in a few years, and the credit for the change is in great part due to the tact and patience of Major Barr, under whose immediate superintendence most of the reforms have been inaugurated.

Proper courts of justice now sit throughout the country, the finances have been set in order, and the Treasury has a reasonable reserve.

Many excellent public works have been completed, and an efficient, though economical, department for their maintenance and extension has been organized. The police has been improved, the revenue assessment has been revised, and abuses, which were formerly the rule in its collection, rendered impossible. Finally, the rebellious subjects of the Durbar have been reduced to their proper position.

Perhaps the High Courts of Bombay or Calcutta would disapprove, as loose and wanting in legal accuracy, the decisions of a Rewah Court; but the English Civil Courts, with their rigidity and failure to humour if they even acknowledge the customs and sentiments of the people, are one of the blots on our administration, and the intro-

duction of their hard and fast rules into semi-civilized tracts cannot be too earnestly deprecated.

On the whole, looking to the prosperity and contentment of the people ; to the organization of the administrative machinery, and to the condition of its finances, Rewah can compare very favourably with similar districts in the North-West, or the Central Provinces.

But* perhaps the most satisfactory point in its administration is that the ruling classes have been carried along willingly in the reforms which have been made.

They have* been freely consulted, their prejudices tenderly dealt with, and their feelings carefully considered in all matters. The result is that the nobles, as well as the more important members of the priestly class, have been entirely won over to the side of Government, and are now often the first to counsel measures which, twenty years ago, would have been considered intolerable innovations.

It is true that, even in Bundelkhand, improvements have been effected, on somewhat similar lines, in Charkari, and, to a certain extent, in Chatarpur. But these two small States have each a revenue less than half that of Rewah, and the organization possible in them has consequently been less complete.

One question which is receiving a large measure of attention in Rewah is the moral, intellectual, and physical training of the youthful chief. The subject is one the importance of which, if we wish to introduce by gentle measures an improved mode of Government amongst our feudatories in India, cannot be overrated.

We have tried several experiments in education, and humiliating though the admission be, it must be owned that they have more often failed than succeeded. This has been owing either to the want of a definite plan laid down at the commencement, or to the development of one branch of the education to the, more or less complete, neglect of others.

We have too often produced, as the result of our efforts, either a conceited student at one extreme, or a good-for-

nothing at the other. The first is the result of a mistaken endeavour to force too hastily Western ideas into an Eastern head. The *vaurien* is the consequence of an equally erroneous attempt to engraft upon an unsympathetic nature the Englishman's love of field sports and athletics, to the neglect of moral and intellectual training.

As rulers of their States these two types are equally failures. The chief with advanced English ideas seeks to govern upon lines which may be possible a century after his death, but which are certainly impracticable now. The result is that he soon falls into the power of a few astute and designing subordinates, who, by outwardly humouring his whims, draw to themselves all real power.

The young chief whose physical training has formed almost the sole object of his education fails in a different way. He knows nothing about government, and, very often, cares still less. He has few ideas beyond a race course and a polo pony, and he leaves his State to be governed by favourites, whose favour depends chiefly on their power to provide their master, at the expense of his people, with the means of gratifying his acquired tastes.

Two notable experiments are now being carried out in Central India, which will be watched with anxiety and interest by all who desire the future development of the States of Rewah and Gwalior.

These two young chiefs are of the same age, and represent the leading States in the two divisions of Central India. Rewah is the most important of the Rajput, Gwalior of the Mahratta, States in Central India.

What has hitherto been too generally lost sight of in the education of young chiefs, is the impossibility of making an English prince out of an Indian boy; and the impropriety of doing so if it were possible.

We should seek to make him, not a European, but a link between the European and the Indian; to make him a man able to appreciate the advantages of Western methods whilst he still retains a sympathy with his people, which enables

him to judge where those methods are unsuitable to his country ; to make him a thorough Eastern gentleman, not a caricature of an Englishman dressed in Oriental costume.

Let us, by all means, teach him to be upright and manly, and infuse into him a love of our distinctively English virtues, and a hatred of those vices and follies which disgrace the Eastern despot ; but let us at the same time encourage in him a strict observance of the good customs and the religion of his family and State. Let us rescue him from the ignorance and evil influence of the Zenana, with its women and servants, and from the miseries of infant marriage ; but let us equally seek to maintain in him respect for the religion of his birth ; to tamper with which would be a breach of our trust. We cannot make a good Christian of him, but let us make him at least a good Mahomedan or Hindoo, as the case may be.

With regard to Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand but little more need be said. Rapid or great reforms cannot be hoped for in a loose collection of small communities, the majority of whom have not even machinery for the proper disposal of any but unimportant judicial business, or funds for the maintenance of more than a rudimentary form of government, and the tawdry splendour so precious in the eyes of the pettiest princeling.

Independent action cannot be expected from individual States ; while confederated action, discouraged by the Government, would be an impossibility among princes whose pride and jealousy of interference generally increase directly with their poverty and insignificance.

It cannot be expected, nor indeed is it desirable, for many years to come, that the people of the smaller States of Native Bundelkhand or Baghelkhand should enjoy anything much in advance of their ancient patriarchal government, tempered as it is by the supervision of a British agent, and by his administration of justice in all more important matters.

It is to Central India proper that we must turn with the

hope of seeing great improvements, and a gradual assimilation of the administration to that of our own territories.

In the first forty years of British supremacy we were offered great opportunities, of which, for reasons already explained, we failed to avail ourselves. Having neglected them once, we should esteem ourselves specially fortunate in their recurrence, at all events partially, at the present time.

Between 1840 and 1850, the two great Mahratta States, Gwalior and Indore, were practically under British management, and in Bhopal our influence was paramount.

In the princes of the two former States we had it in our power to train up two ignorant boys to be good and wise rulers. That we failed must be admitted by all who knew those chiefs or had witnessed the condition of their subjects, the absence of justice and the corruption which prevailed amongst all classes in both States.

On neither prince had we succeeded in impressing the truth that he was placed at the head of his State for its good and not for the gratification of his personal whims and pleasures, at the expense of his people. That the people were created for the prince, not the prince for the people, is the view almost universally accepted in the uneducated East, and it should be our first endeavour to modify a theory which in its crudeness cannot but be destructive of the happiness of prince, as well as of people.

Having once allowed so good a chance to elude our grasp, we were not justified in hoping that the very next succession in Gwalior would give us again a similar opportunity, with more than the old advantages.

Such, however, has been the case, and Gwalior is now ruled, during a long minority, by a Council of Regency, bound to accept, when tendered, the advice of the British Government and its agents.

Meanwhile, the Government has not been idle, during the past thirty years, in paving the way for the introduc-

tion of great reforms, or in setting the example in British territory.

The railway, which was unknown, and almost unheard of, in Central India, in 1857, now runs through its most fertile provinces, and affords a ready outlet for the opium, wheat, and cotton of Malwa. Within the next few years the existing system will be largely extended, by the opening of the Indian Midland Railway, which, while passing through and civilizing some of the wildest tracts of Gwalior and Bundelkhand, will carry away the produce of the more fertile plains. Than the railway there has been no more important factor in the pacification of a wild, as well as in the development of a fertile, country, and we may predict with confidence the retreat before it of the lawless gangs of Dacoits, who still infest many tracts which it is shortly to cross, and who have, hitherto, successfully defied every effort for their extermination. Roads have done much, but railways have done and will do more towards stopping, what is still a crying evil in Central India, the depredations of Dacoits.

In nothing is the difference in organization between a British province and an average Native State more clearly marked than in this matter of dacoity. In the greater part of a province, such as the North-West or the Punjab, anything more than mere technical dacoity is unknown. It is only in those districts which border on the uncivilized tracts of Rajputana and Central India that dacoity, in the sense of organized gang robbery, flourishes at all. Even there it only bursts forth fitfully and does not thrive with the constant vigour which it enjoys beyond the British frontier.

The result of an improved administration is, at once apparent in Rewah, which is now absolutely free from dacoits. A few years ago it was harried by a gang of about forty, influenced more by motives of vengeance than of dishonesty, but every one of these men has now been either captured or killed.

In the eastern parts of Gwalior and in Bundelkhand, much work still remains to be done in suppressing the many large gangs of dacoits who, not content with plundering their own neighbourhood, frequently carry their outrages into the adjoining British districts.

They collect in bands, often to the number of one hundred, or even more, in wild uninhabited forests, whence they sally forth on their expeditions, surrounding and robbing perhaps two or three villages, or rather the houses of their wealthiest inhabitants, and then returning to the jungles to divide the spoil.

Many of the leaders are Rajputs, fellow clansmen of the chiefs and their dependants, and their doings are too commonly condoned and connived at by officials, and even by the smaller chiefs, who dare not resist them, or who share the plunder. The officials, where they have no ties of clanship or relationship with the dacoits, are, not unfrequently, influenced in the same direction by motives of fear or of cupidity.

In one district, belonging to the Gwalior State, a famous dacoit for years carried on a wholesale system of plunder with the direct connivance of the local officials, the chief of whom were eventually convicted and punished. At their trial it transpired that one-fourth of the plunder, which they had in a few years levied as hush money, amounted to no less than Rs. 80,000. All this can and must be stopped, at any rate in the great and rich State of Gwalior. The Council of Regency is now exerting itself in earnest with this object, using its troops for police purposes, and proclaiming an amnesty for those dacoits who have not added murder to their other crimes, and who, within a given period, surrender themselves to the mercy of the State.

Some idea of the extent of the operations carried on by the dacoits of Eastern Gwalior and Bundelkhand may be formed from the fact that though, in an organized attack made on them in 1886, some sixty or seventy were taken

or killed, the crime was again almost as prevalent in the same districts in the beginning of 1888.

If the smaller States of Bundelkhand are unwilling or unable to prevent their territories being made a refuge for these robber bands, they must be prepared to see the management of operations taken out of their hands, as has recently been done in the petty State of Khanyadhana.

In other parts of Central India much, though by no means all, of the dacoity which still occurs is due to adventurers from beyond the North-Western frontier of India, Afghanistan and Beluchistan, who, nominally wandering in search of employment, subsist really by ravaging the timid peasants and unprotected villages of Central India.

A gang of this description was recently broken up in Bhopal. It was found to be working in concord with many of the Afghan employés of the State, who derived a handsome addition to their pay from this source.

Many of the gang were convicted; others, against whom there was no conclusive evidence, as well as a number of their accomplices in the State police, were deported to their native Afghanistan, with a warning that return to Central India would involve their imprisonment as vagrants.

Measures for the deportation of these suspicious characters have now been taken all over Central India, and we may hope that in a few years dacoity will, with the energetic measures now being taken, be suppressed. When it is so, crime will not be more prevalent in this province than in British territory. Besides the introduction of railways, already mentioned, much has been done by the British Government in extending metalled roads over a country which, without them, is impassable for wheeled traffic during five months of the year.

* From the States, as a rule, but little assistance has been received, and the advantage to trade from many of these roads was, up till 1887, partially nullified by the heavy transit duties levied by almost every State through which they passed. Some of them, it is true, such as the great

road from Agra to Bombay, have long been free trade routes ; but as the goods had to pay transit duties before they reached, or after they left, the main roads, trade was still seriously hampered.

The battle for the removal of these most obnoxious duties has been a long and severe one, lasting just thirty years. It was not till 1886 that, on the death of the two great Mahratta chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, transit duties were finally abolished in their territories, by the Council of Regency at Gwalior and by the present Maharaja Holkar at Indore.

Their example was immediately followed by the Begum of Bhopal, and, on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, the few remaining States which still levied them consented to forego, for ever, their collection of transit dues on goods not breaking bulk in their territory.

Some States still levy both import and export duties, and there is always a danger of these becoming transit duties unless carefully watched. But, to have obtained the formal abolition of all transit dues and taxes is a triumph for commercial progress, the value of which cannot be exaggerated.

By such general improvements, which would never have been carried out without the active intervention and benevolent mediation of the supreme power, a good and solid foundation on which to base the efforts of individual States has been laid.

It must always be remembered that the States of Central India, some seventy in number, vary in importance from Gwalior, with a revenue of a million and a half sterling, to the petty fragments of some of the old Rajput States, with a revenue of but a few hundred pounds. In the greater States alone can we expect the standard of our own provinces to be approached. It is futile to hope that a small country gentleman, dignified though he be with the name of chief, can rule his estate on other than patriarchal principles.

But if we can succeed in inducing the larger States, down to those producing a revenue of £40,000 or £50,000 a year, to adopt good laws, a simple judicial and revenue system, and to carry out other improvements in proportion to their means, we may well be content to leave the smaller estates to be governed on the old patriarchal system and to draw what advantages they can from the improvements effected by their richer neighbours. Even these smaller States can assist in the good work of opening out the country, by facilitating the operations of others in such matters as the cession of land for roads or railways.

Now that we have done what we can to assist in the general development of the country by roads, railways, telegraphs, and by freeing trade from transit duties, we must look to the States themselves to carry on the good work. But our responsibility by no means ends with the impulse which we have imparted to improvement.

As in the case of Gwalior, we are frequently, during minorities, in a position which renders us, practically, responsible for the entire progress of a State.

In other cases, where there is no minority, but where the education of his heir has been confided to us by a chief, we are morally responsible for his training, and for turning out a ruler who will be willing to work for the good of his people, and not seek merely the gratification of his own desires.

There is a less satisfactory class of cases in which, owing to the extravagance or misgovernment of a prince, the Supreme Government has been driven to the extreme step, one which it always takes with reluctance, of putting aside the chief and assuming the administration, in order to save the ruler from bankruptcy or his subjects from oppression.

Reluctant as the Government always is to take these extreme measures, it has recently been obliged to do so in several instances, and amongst them in the small States of Jhallawar and of Dewas. In a more notable instance, Bhopal, the ruler was called upon to banish from power the

author of the misgovernment complained of, and she has not only complied with the demand, but has gone beyond it, by appointing, as her minister, a European officer of great experience, trained in a British province. The greater States have often presumed too far on the reluctance of Government to adopt these strong means. They will, it is to be hoped, now realize that the situation has vastly changed in the last thirty or forty years.

When Malwa was first pacified and rescued from anarchy and civil war, its people were glad to accept any rude form of Government, which could scarcely fail to be some improvement on the "Times of trouble." The British Government itself was too busy elsewhere to interfere, except in cases of glaring tyranny.

Now all this is changed, and the Government cannot conscientiously tolerate a tyrannical procedure, neglecting and oppressing the people, merely because the ruler is too indolent or too vicious to govern properly.

In such cases the Government has a right to interfere in the internal affairs of any feudatory State. It is a right exercised unwillingly, and only as a last resource, but there is more than one chief who would do well to remember that there is a limit beyond which patience cannot be stretched, and that it is not the habit of the British Government, in the administration of justice, to draw distinctions in favour of the powerful as compared with the weak.

Let us now see what use is being made of the opportunities which fortune has afforded us, for the second time in a period of seventy years.

In Gwalior we have, for nearly two years, been responsible for the general direction of affairs.

When the late Maharaja Sindhia died, his State was in scarcely better plight than was Rewah, when it was handed over to our superintendence.

The expenditure on public works was practically nothing, proper courts of justice were non-existent, and such courts as there were, were congested with the arrears of many years,

both on the civil and criminal sides. There was no separation between the judicial and the executive, and judicial powers were generally and freely used by corrupt police and revenue officials for their own ends. Education was absolutely neglected, hospitals and dispensaries were few, and what there were had only been constructed and endowed by the late Maharaja after years of pressure and importunity by the Resident and the Governor-General's agent.

The land revenue assessment, especially in the North-Eastern Districts, was excessive, and its harshness was aggravated by the impossibility of exporting produce from a country impassable for want of roads.

The revenue of the State was far in excess of the expenditure, even inclusive of that on the Maharaja's favourite toy, his army.

The officials were underpaid, and had no pension to look forward to; consequently they supplemented their scanty pay by corrupt means.

The surplus revenue, instead of being either expended on improving the country or profitably invested, was hidden away year by year in useless hoards. To such an extent was this mania for hoarding carried that the Maharaja actually borrowed from the Government of India a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees, at a time when he must have had several millions sterling lying useless in his vaults, and when the current revenue was more than sufficient to cover the extra famine charges, the pretext on which the loan was asked.

Immediately on the installation of the new Government, measures were taken for organizing a Department of Public Works, for which there were absolutely no materials at hand in the State. An English engineer, who had already had large experience under similar circumstances, though on a smaller scale, in Rewah, was placed at the head of the new department, to work directly under the Council. Other engineers, European

and Native, were engaged, a proper system of accounts was started, and plans were prepared for numerous works of public utility. The construction of metalled roads was at once undertaken in tracts where the price of agricultural produce was nominal, owing to the impossibility of moving it to the markets, or to the railway. A fine hospital and a college were planned, and have been commenced at the capital.

A new palace has been begun at Ujjain, with the double object of enabling the young Maharaja to enjoy, during the hot season, the comparatively temperate climate of Malwa, and of facilitating periodical visits to the most fertile part of his dominions, where his father was scarcely ever seen. Numerous roads, dispensaries, and schools, police and civil buildings, are under construction all over the country, and the Council are fully prepared, should it be found advantageous or profitable, to introduce light railways, as feeders to the main lines. Measures were also at once taken for the entire separation of the judicial from the executive branch, and for the establishment of civil and criminal courts, with definite powers and proper procedure, in all parts of the country.

A Mahratta gentleman, an able administrator and lawyer, whose large experience of Native States is a guarantee that he will not attempt to overload the courts with useless technicalities, has been placed at the head of this department as chief justice and judicial secretary. He is now engaged in organizing the courts in accordance with a scheme prepared, in consultation with him, by the British authorities and the Council of Regency.

To these reforms there has naturally been offered a strenuous opposition by the revenue officers and others, who felt that, with their judicial powers, they were losing their most powerful engine of oppression and extortion.

The salaries, not only of these men, but also of the judges and magistrates, have now been fixed on a scale which no longer leaves open to them the plea of necessity. The police is being rapidly reorganized, free use being

made in this, as in other departments, of good local material wherever available. The revenue assessment of the North-Eastern districts is being readjusted, and, where necessary, reduced, under a native officer of large experience. Similar measures will shortly be undertaken in Malwa.

The great hoards, amounting to many millions sterling, which had been amassed by the late Maharaja have been unearthed, and from them a loan of three and a half crores of rupees has been made to the Government of India, the balance of whose loan of fifty lakhs, already mentioned, has also been discharged. This loan to Government has been the subject of some adverse criticism in the ill-informed portion of the vernacular press.

It has been said that the money, instead of being lent, should have been expended on improvements in the State. The baselessness of this argument will be apparent when it is remembered that the loan itself brings in an annual income of fourteen lakhs, and that there is already a large surplus revenue which cannot be economically expended, with the administrative means available. It is probable that the annual expenditure on Public Works will not be less than twenty to thirty lakhs. This is far more than is expended on ordinary works in any equal area of British territory, and an attempt to spend more rapidly would certainly end in bad work and heavy loss. Gwalior then is in a fair way to thorough and complete re-organization, and we may well hope that, when the reins of government are handed over to the young Maharaja, on his attaining his majority some ten years hence, he will find himself, like the Maharaja of Mysore, the ruler of a State whose prosperity and wealth will compare very favourably with British territories, and of a contented and peaceable people.

The most gratifying circumstance connected with reform in Gwalior is that, although the initiative of British officials naturally counts for much, the Council of Regency, headed by its wise and experienced President, Sir Ganpat Rao, has thrown itself into the work of improvement and reform with

a cordial and intelligent enthusiasm, and is working with ability and success.

In the other great Mahratta State, Indore, there has, too, been a change of ruler ; but, the new chief not being a minor, the direct influence of the British Government is far less than in Gwalior.

The late Maharaja Holkar, like Sindhia, loved his hoards, which, however, he was less inclined to let lie idle. A shrewd man of business, he too frequently allowed his cupidity to blind him to really profitable measures. His revenue settlements were calculated to bring in sums not half of which could in practice be collected. On public works of utility, on roads, on dispensaries, and on every expenditure that did not produce an immediate and direct return, his views and Sindhia's were entirely in accord. There was a certain amount of regularity and system in the Indore administration which did not exist in Gwalior, but on the almost simultaneous death of the two princes there was but little to choose between the depressed and poverty-stricken condition of their people. The first act of the present Maharaja Holkar was a wise and generous one—the abolition of transit duties, a measure of the advantage of which it had always been impossible to convince his father. Not long after his succession, he secured the services of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, an upright and honourable gentleman of enlightened views, whose experience both of British administration and of the Indore State, where he had before been Minister, was very extensive.

Had the Maharaja seen fit to confide extensive powers to this excellent Minister, it might fairly have been hoped that, in the two past years, Indore would have made as rapid strides as Gwalior has done. But he has not done so, and it must be regretfully recorded that, notwithstanding the Maharaja's professed good intentions and the Minister's real anxiety to advance, little or nothing has been effected, and the Dewan has, after long and fruitless efforts at reform,

been compelled to resign an ungrateful and hopeless task.

In Bhopal, the only Mahomedan State of much importance in Central India, and the second in rank in the whole of India, matters are progressing more satisfactorily.

Colonel Ward, the Begum's English Minister, with Her Highness' generous support, has, in less than two years, carried out many admirable reforms.

The judicial staff has been properly organized, and its *personnel* improved; the excessive revenue assessment is being reduced; the police has been re-modelled, and its corrupt officials dismissed or punished; the mode of levying customs dues has been revised, and something has been done towards improving communications by metalled roads.

With Colonel Ward at the head of affairs there is no need to fear any lack of the will and energy necessary to bring Bhopal up to the level of the adjoining Central Provinces.

The only other State of importance in Malwa, at present under direct management, is the small principality of Dewas, which has been taken over from its chief to save it from the bankruptcy and ruin into which his extravagance was rapidly dragging it. Its revenue barely reaches four lakhs of rupees, and, with the heavy debts which have been incurred by the Raja, it must be many years before any considerable outlay on much needed improvements can be afforded.

The State of Rutlam is of more importance. For many years, during the minority of the Raja, it was under management, and its administration is as good as we can well expect in a small State, whose resources will not admit of the comparatively elaborate machinery which is possible in Gwalior, Indore. or Bhopal. The Raja himself, a thorough Rajput gentleman, a man of honourable and gentle disposition, and of much intelligence, is, so far, perhaps the best product, in Central India, of our educational experiments.

To sum up the results of thirty years of British supremacy in Central India, since 1858 : the country generally has been opened out by railways and roads ; trade has been freed from odious restrictions ; education has been encouraged, and a central college for the training of young chiefs and nobles has been opened at Indore.

If some of our experiments in education have been failures, we may at least hope that they will serve to point out the pitfalls to be avoided, and that, with them before our eyes, we shall attain success with the Maharajas of Gwalior and Rewah.

Our later opportunities for improving the country we cannot be said to have neglected ; and we can point with satisfaction to what has been, and is still being, done in Gwalior, Bhopal, Rewah, Charkhari, and Rutlam.

When the second forty years from 1818 has elapsed, we shall be on the point of handing over to its young chief the most important of the Central Indian States, and one of the most important in all India. We have every reason to hope that it will be then on a level, in prosperity and order, with our own provinces. Bhopal, if the present administration continues as it has begun, should be little, if at all, behind. Rewah and Rutlam are already flourishing in proportion to their position. The only great State over which some uncertainty still rests is Indore ; and here it can only be a question of time till the State begins to follow the example set by Gwalior. With Gwalior thoroughly well organized and ruled, as we may hope, by a young man of good education and enlightened views ; with the States next in importance following Gwalior's lead ; with Rewah and Charkhari as examples set up for the imitation of the Rajput States, and with the general improvements which have already been commenced or effected, the Government may well hope and expect to obtain, in 1898, a less equivocal verdict than that given forty years before.

F. LORAIN PETER.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

THE Council of the Secretary of State for India is the object of criticism on different grounds, and from two very different quarters. Reformers in England, those particularly who consider themselves the special friends of the natives of India, hold it to be a kind of essence of bureaucracy, and as such to be of its nature opposed to all reform and liberal progress. Some, again, among the Indian services, including many of the younger and more eager spirits, and the portion of the English press of that country which is most influenced by them, represent the Council as composed of "old fogies," who act merely as a drag on good administration, and who check the improvements which the Indian Governments, if left alone, would of themselves effect.

The difference between these views is obvious, though it often happens that on particular questions those who hold them write in condemnation of the supposed action of the Council. Before inquiring what foundation there is for both or either of these opinions, it may be well to explain briefly the origin and functions of the Council, a subject which is not very clear, and on which there exists a good deal of misapprehension.

. When, in 1858, it was determined to transfer the direct government of India from the Company to the Crown, the necessity was universally acknowledged of providing the new Secretary of State, or other high parliamentary official at the head of the London department in which, *ex postulati*, the government of India (subject, of course, to the control of Parliament) was finally to be vested, with the means of availing himself of that knowledge and experience of India

and her administration which the Court of Directors had previously supplied. By the first of the Bills, that of Lord Palmerston, which were introduced in the House of Commons for effecting the change of system, the Home Government of India was to be vested in a president and eight councillors, the final determination of each question resting with the president alone, except that, without the concurrence of at least a moiety of his Council, he could throw no new charge on the Indian revenues, nor create any new office—points on which the House of Commons of the day showed itself throughout these discussions especially jealous.

A change of Ministry having occurred, the new Government, that of Lord Derby, introduced a second Bill, by which a Secretary of State was to be appointed with a Council of eighteen members, consultative merely, since the Secretary of State, though obliged to hear the advice of his Council, was in no case bound to follow it. This Bill having been withdrawn, the House determined to proceed by way of resolutions, and the Bill founded on those resolutions which finally passed, created a Secretary of State and Council of fifteen members. As drafted, the Bill made the Council purely consultative. According to the explanation, on its second reading, of Lord Stanley, the minister in charge, the object was that the Council should have a moral influence and control, but that the decision of the Secretary of State should be final on all matters, the Cabinet being of opinion that any control given by the Council being empowered to refuse its assent to proposed expenditure would be illusory, and that a more real and effectual check on the Minister would consist in the necessity of his consulting his Council, in their power of protest, and in the submission to Parliament of the Indian accounts. The Council was therefore, under the direction of the Secretary of State, to conduct the Home business of the Government of India (which was declared to be the same as that previously conducted by the East India Company and the Board of

Control, alone or jointly) ; it was to be divided into committees for the more convenient transaction of this business; all communications to be sent to India (with an exception, that of the secret correspondence noticed below) were to be submitted to, and might be discussed by the Council ; and any member might demand that his opinion and the reasons for it should be recorded. But the view of the Secretary of State, even if at variance with that of the majority, or of the whole of his Council, was in the end to prevail, nor was his ultimate authority limited, financially, or otherwise, by a vote of Council.

The House of Commons, however, as has before been observed, was jealous of the practically uncontrolled power which this Bill gave to the Secretary of State, and the subsequent discussions showed, as Lord Stanley admitted, the necessity of providing some further security against financial abuses. Hence the Act, as finally passed, contains provisions which materially limit the power of the Secretary of State in different directions. In the first place, the Indian revenues cannot—urgent necessity, such as that of preventing invasion, being excepted—be applied to defray the cost of military operations beyond the frontiers of India without the consent of Parliament. Secondly, the expenditure of the revenues of India is subjected to the control of the Secretary of State *in Council*, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues can be made without the concurrence of a majority of Council. On the other hand, there are provisions intended to prevent any undue interference on the part of the Council, obstruction, or inconvenient delay. The Secretary of State may send to India, without consulting his Council, any orders (except instructions dealing expressly with finance, which still require the concurrence of a majority of Council) which before the passing of the Act might have been sent by the Board of Control through the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, *i.e.*, on matters relating to war or peace, and to negotiations with native states, and the policy to be

pursued regarding them. And in any case of urgency the Secretary of State may act alone, but the Council must be at once informed.

The exact effect of the limitations on the power of the Secretary of State—whether of Parliament, in matters military, or of his Council in matters financial—is not very clear, and, as is well known, considerable differences of opinion have arisen from time to time regarding them. It is not, however, necessary for my present purpose to discuss these questions. I need only point out that the Act of 1858 was intended by the Legislature to secure three special objects. First, to prevent undue, too minute, or too frequent, interference with the Government in India on the part of the Home Government. I have not space to dwell on this point, and must only state that, both formally and practically, the inception of almost all matters which relate to India as distinct from Home administration rests in the Indian Government, the power of the Secretary of State as regards them is almost entirely that of criticism or negation. Next, to ensure thorough responsibility to Parliament of the Secretary of State, in whom rests the initiation in this country of all measures, or, more commonly, their acceptance if initiated in India, including financial measures; who has large powers of dealing on his own responsibility with matters involving urgency, and to whom alone are reserved questions of *la haute politique*; of political, in the Indian sense, as distinguished from legislative or administrative importance. Finally, to ensure that the Secretary of State shall, on all subjects not strictly political, avail himself of the knowledge and experience of his Council, and in financial matters give it complete control.

The powers thus reserved to the Council by Statute are, it will be seen, real and considerable. But (as was pointed out several years ago by one of the greatest men who ever sat in Council, Sir H. Maine, whose untimely loss must be deplored by India even more than by the rest of the Empire) the chief power of that body is almost

independent of any authority vested in it by law ; it is simply the power of knowledge and experience in a mass of subjects of the greatest extent, and of the utmost difficulty, complexity, and technicality. Criticism of the Council almost always proceeds from those whose real or fancied knowledge has led them to conclusions opposed to those which the Council is supposed to have adopted, and refers to the subjects of such difference. In such cases it is obvious, the question is really not one of the utility of a Council, but of the fact whether the Council existing at a particular time supplies the minister with the most authoritative experience on a particular subject of a great number of subjects.

But before further examining this point, it may be permitted to one who, though never a member of the Council, was for several years intimately connected with it and with successive ministers, to touch on another question, that of the actual relations of the Council with the Secretary of State. It is quite true that, as the Secretary of State might, if he chose, avail himself of some provisions of the law to over-ride the opinion of his Council, so the Council might take advantage of other provisions to thwart the policy of the Minister. My own experience is that anything of the sort very seldom, if ever, occurs. Minister and Council are all men of business, and are not subject to the party influences which create friction ; the Secretary of State is glad to avail himself of the experience of his Councillors ; the latter, who feel that their opinions will be fully and fairly considered, are ready in the last resort to defer to the views of the minister.

I now proceed to examine some of the arguments most commonly urged against the utility of the Indian Council. It is pointed out, with perfect truth, how vast is the continent of India ; how widely its various provinces differ ; how misleading is experience of one part of the country in dealing with another. But no one ever alleged, as is implied, that a few years' residence somewhere in India fits a

man to take part in the government of the whole country. The real plea is a very different one, that personal knowledge of India in some shape is necessary for her administration. The futility of what is really an argument for ignorance—that no one knows all about India, therefore his knowing nothing makes no difference in his capacity for her rule—becomes at once obvious if it is applied to other subjects. No man knows all about law, but we do not therefore make a man a judge who never read Blackstone; no man knows all languages, yet acquaintance with French is essential to a diplomatist. But, in fact, the considerations mentioned above make in favour of the principle of the Council. Its constitution is intended to secure that the Minister shall be able to avail himself of personal knowledge and practical experience, not only of India as a whole, but of each of her principal provinces, and of each of the main branches of her administration. With the exception of one or two members selected for financial or mercantile knowledge in general, the Council consists of men who have been eminent in different capacities in various parts of India, and who often have widened their special knowledge subsequently as members of the Indian supreme government. Thus, in my time at the India Office, Sir F. Halliday and Sir A. Eden had special knowledge of Bengal and the latter of Burma; Mr. Drummond and Sir W. Muir of the North-West Provinces; Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir H. Davies of the Punjab; Sir R. Dalrymple of Madras; Sir Barrow Ellis of Bombay; Sir E. Perry and Sir H. Maine were particularly acquainted with Indian law and legislation; Sir W. Muir and Sir J. Strachey with finance; Sir H. Norman, Sir P. Lumsden, and General Foster with military affairs; General Strachey and Col. Yule with Public Works; Sir H. Rawlinson with political history; Mr. Cassels and Mr. Bullen Smith with Indian trade and commerce.

I may be excused for adding that among these names are several with an European reputation in literature,

science, archæological, and historical research, and kindred subjects, who must preserve the Council from the reproach of being composed of men whose only title to respect is official.* All of this knowledge it is true, is not of the latest date. Sir A. Eden, when he joined the Council, knew the Bengal of the present ; Sir F. Halliday, the Bengal of a quarter of a century before. But experience to be of value to the Secretary of State should be not merely "experience of the day." Of all countries India is the most conservative ; is that in which tradition and the past have the greatest weight, and the Minister ought to have at hand knowledge not only of existing facts, but of what has gone before and produced them. It is sudden changes of policy made in ignorance of the reasons and effects of past policy, which India has most to fear—and this is readily enough admitted in cases where the view of the critic happens to agree with the conclusions of experience. The very persons, for instance, who assume that Lord Ripon's schemes for "local self-government" which were questioned by many of the highest Indian authorities, were obviously the right ones, and that the opposition to them was pure bureaucratic obstruction, denounce Lord Lytton for thinking that he knew better on the frontier question than Lord Lawrence, the old Indian.

But, it is argued, it would be sufficient that the Secretary of State should be aided by a competent staff, *i.e.*, by efficient heads of departments selected from the Indian services. But the administration of India is full of many-sided problems. The abler the head of a department, the more sure he is to hold strong views of his own on such of these problems as relate to his own department, and these views alone would then be urged on the Minister. What

* Of those whom I have here mentioned, with most of whom I was once in constant intercourse and held, I am pleased to think, close and friendly relations, personal and official, the greater number have passed away from the Council, some by retirement, many by a death sometimes premature, often fulfilled with years and honour. Their successors have similar qualifications.

the Secretary of State needs—who, from his parliamentary position cannot have special knowledge, though his political training and general grasp of affairs eminently qualify him to decide between conflicting views—is a body of advisers among whom all sides of a question are sure to be adequately represented to him. An English judge usually decides admirably on all sorts of questions—of science, trade, manufactures, and the like—of which he personally knows little or nothing. He does so because both sides of a case are fully laid before him ; he would not be able to do so if he could consult only a single expert.

The English reformers appear to expect that, if the Council were abolished, the House of Commons would take a larger and more direct share in Indian government, and that this would tend to improve the latter. But—not to urge how unfit is the House to control a distant, complex, and difficult administration—Parliament, “a weary Titan, staggering beneath the too vast orb of its fate” is, by the confession of its greatest members, already so overburdened with work that it cannot deal adequately with innumerable subjects which come, or ought to come, before it. What chance is there that it would master a mass of details of the most complicated and unintelligible kind ? I should expect the result to be that, save where some personal interests are concerned, Parliament would decline to exercise its supervision, and the Secretary of State would be left to do the best he could with the aid of that permanent staff, which, in other departments of the State, is now so severely criticized, and of the gratuitous advice which, it is truly said, he can get in any quantity from the outside. I conceive that Lord Cross or Lord Kimberley would feel somewhat at a loss if they had to depend for counsel on Babu Lal Mohun Ghose and Mr. Atkins ; on the “Englishman” and the “Amrita Bazaar Patrika ;” on the Planters Association and the Indian National Congress.

The teaching of history, I think, will be found not to support the plea for ignorance. Most of what are now

thought the greatest blunders in Indian administration were made by English statesmen in disregard of the advice of the Indian "bureaucracy."

Warren Hastings wished to protect the Bengal Ryots against the zemindars; he failed from the opposition of Sir P. Francis. Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement which he did against the advice of Mr. Shore. Lord W. Bentinck rejected the principle of "judicial rents" in the North-West Provinces which was advocated by Mr. Bird. Lord Auckland engaged in the first Afghan War in opposition to the strong feeling of at least a very numerous party among the "bureaucracy," and the same may be said of the second war. The amalgamation of the armies, and the creation of the Staff Corps, which are now very generally thought costly blunders, were carried out by the Ministry and Parliament of the day in opposition to the almost universal views of the Indian Military and Civil Services. And, to give one more instance, the Mutiny of 1857, which is often attributed to the ignorance or incapacity of the Indian experts, was probably—though I think it was sure to have happened sooner or later under whatever policy—immediately due, more than to anything else, to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, which was his own, and was, notwithstanding the immense influence of his commanding genius, very generally disapproved by the "bureaucracy."

It is very commonly alleged or implied, by both its English and its Indian critics, that the high officials who form the bulk of the Council were from their position while in India far removed from the population, knew little of their wants, wishes, and feelings, and, in short, were not in touch with them, and that therefore the Council fails to supply the Minister with just the kind of knowledge which would be to him most valuable.

It is forgotten that Lieutenant-Governors and Members of the Indian Government have invariably risen by distinguishing themselves in those subordinate positions which

bring them into direct contact with the masses of the people, and that the experience thus acquired is, as every Indian official will admit, invaluable in their subsequent career. It is quite true that junior civilians, especially the vainer and shallower sort, are ready enough to point out the failings of their superiors, and are eager to correct the shortcomings which are inevitable in every government. They by no means, as is suggested, postpone this ambition to their private advantage as they get older, but they begin to learn that it is not wise to pull down your house every time a fire smokes; that it is generally better to get the chimney swept or the grate mended, or perhaps to change your housemaid. To assert that a young official's prospect of rising in his profession depends on his refraining from all criticism of the system of which he is a part is inaccurate and unjust, both to the services and to the governments.

It has always been a tradition of Indian administration to encourage the fullest and freest criticism of the policy and measures of government, which is not inconsistent with loyalty in carrying out orders once given. Such criticism has often been carried to an extent which would never have been tolerated in an English department of the State, and, if honest and able, has frequently led to the rapid promotion of the critic, sometimes to his being selected to carry out the views which he has successfully urged.

But the truth is that the people in England or in India, who advocate most warmly the "liberty of prophesying" in general, are apt to support it in particular only when the criticism is in the direction of their own views. Few subjects, for instance, have ever given rise within the services to views more divergent or more warmly expressed than Lord Ripon's policy of, so-called, "local self-government." His government, I believe, really desired to learn the opinions of their servants on this topic, and it would, I think, be impossible to point to a single instance of a man's advancement being interfered with on account of his convictions; on the contrary, I could mention several instances

of the special promotion of those who had expressed themselves most forcibly either in support of, or in opposition to, these measures. But it was common enough for the Viceroy to be called on, by his outside supporters, to mark his displeasure with those who, it was said, set themselves in opposition to his beneficent policy.

The fact is that the Indian services, which must have some of the faults or failings of a bureaucracy, have, among others, one pre-eminent merit. They know their very difficult business exceedingly well, and it is accordingly proposed, by abolishing the Council, to deprive the Secretary of State of the advantage of this knowledge. Such a step, I am sure, would lead to results very different from those anticipated by its advocates, whether in England or in India. As regards those who assail the Council from the point of view of the services in India, I need hardly insist on this. The very criticisms directed against it from the opposite position sufficiently prove my accuracy, since they are to the effect that it is, not too little, but too much in sympathy with the administration in India. Those officials of our Eastern Empire who now complain of the real or fancied interference of Council with measures on which they have set their hearts, should consider whether interference would not be more frequent, and less founded on knowledge, if there were no body, influential at once by its legal position and by its practical experience, to stand between the Indian Government and an ill-instructed English opinion.

Nor, in my judgment, are the hopes of its English opponents less likely to be disappointed by the abolition of the Council.

I may point out one of the numerous instances in which this will probably be the case. While British and native reformers are mostly at one in advocating the extension of national and local self-government in India, and in representing the dull official obstruction of the Council as one great obstacle to so great a reform, the

English Liberal holds that the measures of development and progress, which would follow on the abolition of that body, would promote the consumption of British manufactures in the East (not that this has not increased considerably in the last half-century), and would lead to the general enforcement of the scientific sanitation, to the absence of which he points as a blot on Indian administration. But nothing is more certain than that a government directed by native opinion—which now believes that India is ruled in the interest of Lancashire rather than in her own—would raise a revenue by the protective taxation of British imports, and that local bodies—witness the Calcutta and many other municipalities—would refuse to be taxed for sanitary purposes. On these, as on many other subjects, the British and the native views are directly at variance. Should Native influence become dominant in the government of India on the removal of the Council, that body would soon be lamented in England, as having secured free trade, and having at least encouraged sanitation; while, should the reverse be the case, the natives would equally regret it as having intervened between them and the full flood of British interests and modern fads.

There is no doubt that the Council does, to a certain extent, act as a check on the Secretary of State; its special utility in this direction—since all agree that India should not be governed from an English party point of view—is to secure a continuity of policy in the India Office, which would otherwise be endangered by the alternation of Ministers from opposite sides of the Houses of Parliament. Putting this function on one side, I am not of opinion that the Council is apt to urge its own views too strongly on the Minister, to oppose its own convictions or prejudices to measures desired by him. It usually errs, if at all, I think, in the opposite direction, by refraining from pressing the advice which its experience furnishes. To make this clear, I will, in conclusion, describe briefly the routine of the India Office.

The Council, "for the more convenient transaction of business," is divided into several committees, each dealing primarily with one special branch of the affairs of India—the financial, the military, the public works, the commercial, &c., and composed of the four or five members who are most conversant with that branch. The office itself (or rather the correspondence side of it—that which disposes of communications from or to India) is similarly divided into departments, each of which deals with matters falling under one or more of these branches, and is in direct relations with the corresponding committee. When a communication is received from India in the shape of a letter or despatch from a government there, it first goes—a brief summary of its contents having been made for the information of the Secretary of State—to the department to which its subject appertains. The head of this department, after, if necessary, ascertaining the information regarding it possessed by any other department (for it constantly happens that a question primarily relating to one department, say the financial, has a close bearing on another department, such as the land revenue) makes a *précis* of the matter, in which he of course urges, with more or less force and ability, his own views on the subject, and drafts the despatch which he proposes should be sent in reply. These, with the other papers, he submits through the Under Secretary to the Secretary of State. The latter, if he disapproves the draft altogether, cancels it and sends it back, with an indication of his own views, to be re-drafted. Otherwise, with any modifications which he may see fit to make in the draft, he sends the papers on to the committee. The committee, attended at their meeting, usually a weekly one, by the departmental chief, who furnishes them with any further information needed, consider the papers, and send them back to the Minister with any alterations in the draft they recommend or observations which may occur to them. He sometimes, if he differs from the committee, sends the papers back to be reconsidered, and occasionally himself

visits the committee for personal discussion of the business with its members. Whether or not this is the case, he finally sends on the papers, with or without remark of his own, to Council. They remain a certain time on the council-table for the perusal of those councillors who are not members of the committee, and then come on for discussion by "the Secretary of State in Council." If opposed, or with any alterations which may be made in Council, the despatch goes out to India, or sometimes it is "recommitted" to the committee for further consideration.

A common objection to this system is that it is slow, since it involves under ordinary circumstances a delay of three weeks before a communication from India can be answered, and probably of a good deal more. I do not, however, lay stress on this. Few matters that come from India are urgent in the sense of needing instant decision ; it is usually of far more importance that they should be fully and maturely considered than that they should be immediately disposed of ; and in the small proportion of cases where the ordinary routine would cause a delay really inconvenient, it must be the fault of the departmental head if he does not prevent this by adopting the course provided for cases of urgency. And the system has a great merit. As will have been observed, it ensures that every subject shall be fully considered by Council ; that every councillor shall have an opportunity of forming and expressing his opinion on every communication to India ; while, on the other hand, the responsibility of the Minister is fully preserved, every proposal that comes before Council comes with his inception.

The real objection, it seems to me, is that too great an initiative is thrown into the hands of the departmental chief, who is able first of all to urge his views, and who drafts the despatch in accordance with them. Consequently, if the Minister passes on the draft with his "imprimatur," any criticism of the committee or of Council, must take at least the appearance of opposition to the

views of the Secretary of State personally. Hence, it is my experience, the committee, especially if not unanimous, is somewhat shy of making a recommendation directly at variance with anything in the draft despatch. They prefer to tone it down ; their criticism is apt to be verbal rather than essential ; and, consequently, the despatch is sometimes weakened, not to its improvement, while some essential point on which the committee do not really concur with the draft is modified only in wording.

It would not, of course, do for the committee to draft the despatch ; this would be to give them the initiative, which is specially reserved to the Minister by law. But I have sometimes thought that a better system would be to defer the drafting of the despatch in important matters to a later stage, after the subject had been discussed in committee.

The course would be somewhat as follows. The papers, including the departmental *précis* and any remarks of the Minister on it, would go to the committee with an expression of the desire of the Secretary of State that they would consider and advise him on certain specified points. For example, the proposal from India is that the agrarian system of a certain province shall be altered in the direction of tenant-right by means of certain changes, legislative and administrative. The queries of the Minister to the committee would be, whether any change is needed ? whether, if so, it should be in the direction recommended ? if so, whether the particular steps recommended should be approved, or any other suggestion made.

The committee, or its majority, would reply to each query categorically, having, of course the power of noticing any points omitted by the Minister. If their recommendations were approved by the Secretary of State, the head of the department would draft the despatch accordingly, and it would go direct to Council where mere verbal alterations would be out of place.

W. G. PEDDER.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE IN INDIA.

A PERIODICAL discussion of this important, if hackneyed, subject is becoming quite a recognized necessity with "Indian thinkers," and the honour of the lead in the present discussion belongs to the learned Chief Justice of Hyderabad, whose instructive letters on Indian topics have always commanded a very wide circle of readers.

It is unquestionably true that for all practical purposes there is no social intercourse between the natives of India and Anglo-Indians. Barring official functions, and what are commonly known as "station festivities," there is no "enjoyable intercourse" between the two classes, and unless brought together by business or duty, Indians and Anglo-Indians are practically strangers to each other.

We will also admit that this estrangement between the two races, if perpetuated by prejudice on our part, and a want of tact on that of our Indian fellow-subjects, would be a source of political disappointment, and perhaps of political danger. We need not go the length to say that "the future success of British rule in India depends on a successful solution of this problem," but it is nevertheless true that the administration of India cannot be a success for either her people or her British rulers if we fail to understand our Indian subjects, and they fail to appreciate our motives. We do not believe that the "clamour of the newspapers" and private heart-burnings" are due "entirely" to this estrangement, but it is certainly not paying any compliment to our political sagacity to confess that we have not as yet drawn the sympathy of our Indian subjects, and that we are ever in danger of legislating for their

wants without a knowledge of their sentiments or feelings on the subject. By standing aloof, as we do, from the people of India, we may not "endanger the stability of our government," but it can hardly be doubted that we lose thereby the advantage of their co-operation, and prepare the way for troubles and disappointments in our legislation. It is by no means an incorrect description of the fact, that "all attempts hitherto made towards a reconciliation through arguments ushered in the columns of newspapers," have proved worse than a failure.

We are said to be appealing to the loyalty of our Indian subjects through their selfish interest, but would it not have been more to our advantage if we could secure their loyalty by an appeal not only to their selfish interest, but also to their sympathy?

We do not doubt that the growth of social intercourse is retarded by a reluctance on our part to accept the overtures of fellowship made by our Indian fellow-subjects, but still we firmly believe that the future of this question is a hopeful one, and we shall therefore discuss it without any reservation, and we shall speak the whole truth as it appears to us. It is only the spirit of sensitive reserve in which the matter has been so often discussed that has led to such a large crop of anomalies and contradictions which both sides tacitly recognize but openly ignore.

I shall first state the causes which have impeded the growth of social intercourse in India; I shall then divide the blame between the two sides, so far as each helps to maintain this breach, and lastly give the grounds on which I hold that the future of this question need not cause us any anxiety.

While dwelling on the subject of our present remarks, our contemporary the *St. James's Gazette* quotes approvingly an opinion of Lady Hester Stanhope, that Orientals approve in their dealings with foreigners "an honest, open-hearted positive naval officer of the old school." But we must bear in mind two facts which have much to say to the

wisdom of Lady Hester's opinion : firstly, the naval officer must be open-hearted and not overbearing ; and secondly, that the Orientals in question must not be natives of Bengal.

The causes which have hitherto operated to create and maintain this unfortunate difference between our Indian fellow-subjects and Anglo-Indians are not far to seek, and though well known are not honestly avowed. We are told that "a simple explanation is impossible," and such perhaps is the case, but it is possible to offer a satisfactory explanation, even if a complex one. "The difference of colour" has much to answer for for the present state of feelings between the two classes ; and when this fact is associated with a subject race, it is an element of discord which is not easily allayed. It may be a childish prejudice which creates social ill will between two races for no other reason than that the one belongs to a fair and the other to a dark race, but it is the peculiar character of this prejudice which makes both the offender and the offended alike ready to forget its existence. The Anglo-Indian is apparently anxious to stand on a ground more capable of a closer inspection than the colour of his neighbour's skin ; while the offended Indian is better pleased to fly to causes more tangible for discussion and less galling to his feelings.

Add to this difference of colour the difference of creed, of our habits of thought and our modes of living, and we shall then be able to appreciate the difficulty in the solution of a problem which our native friends are pleased to call "the most important of all which affects the stability of our government in India."

An Indian's "mode of eating and drinking" does not recommend itself to us, and men with whom we cannot eat and drink with pleasure cannot be "pleasurable company." Oriental etiquette has its peculiar difficulties, and when its observance is forced on us by the weaker side, even if by an appeal to our feelings, the matter does

not become more palatable. These charges, which rest on personal grounds, are not pleasant for either side to plead guilty to ; but, nevertheless, they are the most powerful of the causes of the evil which both sides deplore. It may be very offensive to recognize them, but they are part of the case, and cannot be disregarded in its discussion. They must be accepted as a natural, if not an agreeable explanation of the absence of social intercourse in India. The causes usually set forth are perhaps less offensive to the parties concerned, but they do not constitute the whole truth, and hence the anomalies and contradictions in which the discussion abounds.

Thus we do not believe in one out of a hundred cases that the absence of social intercourse is due to "engrossment in official duties and want of leisure." Those who know anything of this much "vexed question," must be aware that non-official Europeans are more punctilious in the matter of social intercourse than their official brethren ; and no man of Indian experience will for a moment accept the "engrossment" theory as affording even a partial explanation of the question. Another equally untenable ground is that which refers the evil to the incidents of the "*Pardah* system," but we forget that the question of "social intercourse" became remarkable as a political difficulty long before we noticed the "social exclusion of native women" as a grievance affecting us. Again, a writer obviously not strong in Indian experience observes that "perhaps the real impediment to a closer and kindlier intercourse is the difficulty of being several things to several conditions of men ; of being an adept in some three or four different ceremonials and a master of as many different styles of conversation." It does not occur to us that we ever had to adopt one style of conversation with Sikhs, another with Hindus, and a third with Muhammadans ; in fact we experience some difficulty in catching the writer's meaning, and feel some doubt as to whether this argument was put forward in earnest. Lastly, we beg to draw the reader's

attention to the speculation which has led the Chief Justice of Hyderabad to hold, that the want of social intercourse between Indians and Anglo-Indians is due to a hope on our part to stamp out the Indian from India, as we are supposed to have done with the aborigines of the countries we have colonized; I only quote this curious statement to show what mistakes may be committed by the best of us when we only speak half of a truth and try to make up the balance by the working of our inner consciousness.

In determining the share of blame which may be allotted to each side for their present unsatisfactory relation to each other, we can hardly make a mistake if we hold both equally guilty. But if overtures of amity can be made without any fear of humiliation or the imputation of undignified motive, they must come from the Anglo-Indians as from the stronger side.

Englishmen must endeavour to rid themselves of the prejudices to which we have drawn their attention; they may be natural under the circumstances, but still they are prejudices, and must be deprecated. Few will deny that in exceptional cases they have been overcome, and it should therefore be our aim so to shape our conduct that these exceptions may multiply. Education is now, more than ever, being directed to the formation of character, and as this object is more extensively secured the evils which arise from the prejudices complained of will be reduced to a satisfactory minimum. The practice of treating all natives alike—a fruitful source of complaint with our Indian friends—is reprehensible, and argues want of discretion on our part. That no natives should be admitted into the society of Englishmen, because the large majority of them are not fit to do so, is both uncharitable and unjust. In this connection we would rather commend for imitation the action of the committee of the Frere Club, who have reserved to themselves the power of making native gentlemen of standing honorary members instead of declaring them incapable of belonging to that institution; they hoped “that

as native gentlemen observed the excellence of the decorum that is preserved in European gatherings of ladies and gentlemen, they will in the process of time gain confidence and leap the rotten pale of prejudice;" it was also remarked that "national changes are slow, and cannot come about suddenly."

We must also lay at the door of the Anglo-Indians the "grievous fault" that, while they evince little regard for the feelings of their Indian fellow-subjects, they are very exacting as regards the respect and consideration which they believe are justly their dues. We seem to forget that in the process of educating them we are inspiring the natives with aspirations to which they were not born, but which they now claim as within their legitimate ambition. If our educational policy is a mistake, as by some it is believed to be, the error should have been corrected years ago; but we have carried out that policy so long, and we must not shut our eyes now to its results.

While we persist in educating the natives of India, we also persist in suppressing their aspirations to a nobler life; and while we preach to them the glories of a life of independence, in practice we teach them the necessity of submission to the reason of the strongest.

On the other hand, our native friends have not acquitted themselves in this discussion as they should have done. They forget that in "social intercourse" we prefer those who conduce to our health and comfort, and value the "easier qualifications" more than the higher ones. They also forget that long-standing prejudices, however unreasonable, cannot be swept away at once by the most powerful arguments that their adversaries may use. Man is a complex being, and it does not argue that because a case is supported by logic and reason that all the prejudices that once surrounded it will be at once set aside, and that its reasonableness will dislodge all opposition. Differences of education, of social associations, cannot all be forgotten at the bidding of the most perfect judge. It is unwise to

forget existing circumstances, and fly to history for redress. The delightful simplicity of a historical case has not always helped the solution of a contemporary puzzle; it may furnish an argument towards its solution. The oft-repeated complaint that we do not draw a profitable lesson from the incidents of social intercourse between Hindus and Muhammadans is hardly fair; Englishmen of Indian experience, who have some knowledge of the relations which exist between Hindus and Muhammadans, will hardly admit the justice of this complaint. Hindus and Muhammadans do not so readily coalesce as we are asked to believe—and such is the case in spite of the fact that there are many points on which their sentiments are in perfect accord. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as singular that in the case of an Englishman, with so many points on which he differs from the views of his Indian fellow-subjects, that there should be a disinclination to hold social intercourse with the natives.

The hospitable reception which Indian gentlemen receive at the hands of their English friends in England is perfectly intelligible, but it does not improve the position of our Indian critics. Indian visitors in England are not, as a rule, guilty of any self-assertion of the obnoxious sort, while they claim consideration on a ground which an Englishman is always ready to admit: personal worth. On the other hand, an Englishman in England is not likely to exact from his Indian friends an acknowledgment of his superiority—which in India is perhaps not an uncommon occurrence. The Indians we meet in England are generally men of culture and enterprize, whom it is a pleasure to meet, and whose exceptional self-restraint always adds to that pleasure.

In course of time the relations between the two classes, now so unsatisfactory, will be friendly, but no action of Government or public bodies will secure this object. All efforts to secure it by an exercise of force (official or otherwise) should be scrupulously avoided. Education which

will teach the natives self-respect will also teach them to recognize the respect which is due to others. We must take leave of history as not quite a desirable authority in such discussions. As we learn to study and cultivate our common interests we shall associate with each other without the restraint which now helps to keep us apart. We must make mutual concessions and learn each other's value as members of a common political body. What is now true only in the case of a very small minority, will apply to a growing number, and when we begin to understand each other we shall construe each other's motives charitably, and we shall then learn that the secret of social intercourse is mutual knowledge. This will, in course of time, lead us to regard the difference of colour and creed as differences which do not touch the essentials of a friendly relation between ourselves and our Indian fellow-subjects.

If we do not treat all European friends alike, why should we treat our Indian friends with an indulgence we do not show to our own people? But we have Indian friends whom we esteem and value as such, and what is done in the case of a few may in time be done with many. But all this must be left to education to effect, and those who are anxious to promote social intercourse by other means will expose themselves to disappointment, and retard the progress of a cause which they seem to value so much.

CARR STEPHEN.

SOME LETTERS FROM GENERAL GORDON.

So much interest is felt in everything that proceeded from General Gordon's pen that I am tempted to publish those of the letters which I had the privilege to receive from him that are either characteristic in themselves, or that refer to events of public importance. I postpone till a future occasion the memoir which I have long contemplated writing of one into whose confidence I was admitted, and with many points of whose career I had made myself specially familiar. Some of the letters seem to me to cover ground not taken up in any of the letters published in his lamented brother Sir Henry Gordon's interesting volume, or the many other books relating to the work and words of the latest of English heroes. To the presentation of a copy of the first volume of my "History of China" I owed the receipt of the first letter and the commencement of a memorable acquaintance. It was followed up by the loan of all his papers and documents, which were invaluable in producing the third volume of that book. The first time I met General Gordon was on the 19th April, 1881, the day after he wrote the second of the following letters. At that period my journalistic work generally prevented my getting to bed till the small hours of the morning, and when I was awake before nine o'clock with the news that Colonel Gordon had called to see me, it seemed an unpropitious opening for our acquaintance that I should have to keep Chinese Gordon, for whom I had such an intense admiration, waiting for nearly an hour while I performed my ablutions. At that time I did not know General Gordon as I subsequently knew him, but my qualms of conscience were soon allayed, and he carried me off to visit Sir Harry

Parkes in Phillimore Gardens, narrating to me on the way his reasons for resigning his post as secretary to Lord Ripon. I think I can now leave the letters to speak for themselves.

114, BEAUFORT STREET, CHELSEA,

12 *March*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thank you very much for your kindness in sending me your work on China, and also for your note. I am sorry I did not receive them till to-day, having been away from town. I have long known your name with respect to the questions of China. I wish our Government would endeavour to give more attention to that Power as our natural ally in East as France is in the West. A very few concessions on our part would attain this object, but as long as we are unjust to the Chinese Government the latter will mistrust us.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

114, BEAUFORT STREET, CHELSEA,

18 *April*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your kind note. I send you the two papers which were made public in China, and through the Shen-pao some of it was sent over. Another paper of fifty-two articles I gave Li Hung Chang, but I purposely kept no copy of it for it went into—

1. The contraband of salt and opium at Hongkong.
2. The advantages of telegraphs and canals, not railways which have ruined Egypt and Turkey by adding to the financial difficulties.
3. The effeteness of the Chinese representatives abroad &c., &c., &c.

I wrote as a Chinaman for the Chinese.

I recommended Chinese merchants to do away with middlemen, and to have Government aid and encouragement to create Houses or firms in London, &c. To make

their own cotton goods, &c., &c. In fact, I wrote as a Chinaman. I see now and then symptoms that they are awake to the situation, for my object has been always to put myself into the skin of those I may be with, and I like those people as much, well, say nearly as much, as I like my country.

There are a lot of people in China who would egg on revolts of A or B. All this is wrong. China must *fara da se*. I painted this picture to the Chinese of 1900. "Who are those people hanging about with jinrickshas?" "The sons of the European merchants." "What are those ruins?" "The Hongs of the European merchants," &c., &c.

People have asked me what I thought of the advance of China during the sixteen years I was absent. They looked superficially at the power military of China. I said they are unchanged. You come, I must go; but I go on to say that the stride China has made in commerce is immense, and commerce and wealth are the power of nations not the troops.

Like the Chinese I have a great contempt for military prowess. It is ephemeral. I admire administrators, not Generals. A military Red-Button mandarin has to bow low to a Blue-Button civil mandarin, and rightly so to my mind.

I am very much obliged for your kindness in sending me your book.* I wish you would call on Sir Harry Parkes at Phillimore Gardens near you. He would delight to talk to you.

I am sorry I am going to Southampton and thence to Syria. Do you know Captain Gill? He is the man I want to go to China to Li Hung Chang. He is well off, and would advise them aright.

I wrote the other day to Li Hung Chang to protest against the railway from Tchang to Peking along the Grand Canal. In making it they would enter into no end of

* "Central Asian Portraits," in which there was a sketch of Yakoob Khan.

expenses, the coin would leave the country and they would not understand it, and would be fleeced by the financial cormorants of Great Britain.

They can understand canals. Let them repair the Grand Canal.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON.

3 May, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Watch the Abyssinian affairs. They will be very interesting, *vide* paragraphs in *Daily News* of to-day.

Mr. Allen, of 55, New Broad Street, is well up in Egyptian affairs. If you would call on him he would give you much interesting news, for he takes in the Egyptian papers. He is a genial fellow and great friend of mine.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—If you can get a view of the African medal, do so. You would never conceive a more typical medal of our disasters. The lion is on its knees under a tree [here General Gordon drew a pen-and-ink sketch of the lion and the tree]. Of course, it was intended for the *African* Lion, not the English Lion, but as far as the medal goes the difference can't be known.

HÔTEL DE L'EUROPE, HAVRE,

21 May, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—You remember the quarrel between Baron de Ring and Blignières. It was hushed up, and Ring was removed. Ring had worked for the general welfare of the people, Blignières for the bondholders. Blignières was supported by Malet and his friend Colvin. The French Government wanted to support Ring, but our Government persuaded the French Government to give up Ring and to withdraw him.

I have a strong suspicion that when Sir Charles Dilke went over to Paris he agreed with Gambetta to keep Ring away from Egypt, and to let the English work their way there, giving the French the *carte blanche* for Tunis, with the promise that the French should also withdraw De Blignières from Egypt, and let England reign supreme there on France having Tunis. Perhaps it is the best thing to happen, however shabbily our Governments have worked, *vide* enclosed paragraph. England to protectorate Egypt, France to do ditto to Tunis.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—If you will look back on the dates you will find France's dispute with Tunis did not begin till after the Military Revolt at Cairo, when De Blignières and Ring fell out, also that no active steps were taken by France till Dilke went over to Paris about Easter. To my mind it was then the arrangement was made: England to control Egypt and France to have her way in Tunis, and the removal of Ring and De Blignières from Egypt and a dummy French controller appointed, thus giving England the control of Egypt. A telegram enclosed stating that M. de Blignières had left Alexandria to arrange the finances of Tunis.

P.S. (2) Mind and watch over Midhat.

The Sultan is in a fix. Did you see his flag was hoisted at Mecca? That will infuriate all Arabs who hate the Turks. It is an innovation.

ADEN,

7 June, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I have given Monsieur P—— A—— your address, and told him that should he wish to write to you you would do your best to ventilate the subjects on which he writes without compromising his name.

His object (as also mine has always been) is to open out the Abyssinian kingdoms, Shoa and Abyssinia proper.

to Europe. These countries are now stifled by that effete race of Egyptian Pachas, and they have no exit. The apathy of France and England arises from ignorance more than anything else, and the two Governments, though nominally responsible for the Government of Egypt, take no pains to see justice done to Abyssinia. This state of things cannot last long, and it would be well for France and England to recognize that these countries, Abyssinia and Shoa should have an outlet.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

PORT LOUIS,

24 July, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your kind note of 1 June. I am sorry you have been worried. The longer one lives if one reflects at all we all have our worries, and it is often the case that our own worries being so near us make us forget those of others and think that they are free of any, which is quite wrong, if we paid a little more attention to our friends.*

Take myself, for instance. It was not over-cheerful to go out to this place, nor is it so to find a deadly sleep over all my military friends here.

I think we are in a perfect Fools' Paradise about our power. We have plenty of power if we would pay attention to our work, but the fault is, to my mind, the military power of the country is eaten up by selfishness and idleness, and we are trading on the reputation of our forefathers.

When one sees by the newspapers the Emperor of Germany sitting, old as he is, for two long hours inspecting his troops, and officers here grudging two hours a week for their duties, one has reason to fear the future.

I told you that a Russian man-of-war came in here *en*

* General Gordon volunteered to take the command of the Engineers in the Mauritius to oblige a friend whose turn for duty there had arrived. As General Gordon said to me, describing the incident, "It is immaterial to me where I go. Why not, then, to Mauritius?"

route from China, I have no doubt to spy about ; and now I hear two other Russian men-of-war have been to Seychelles *en route* from *China* to *Suez*!! All this connected with the Russian men-of-war visits to Colombo, &c. &c., show they are spying about. I will send you letters* for perusal.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

PORT LOUIS,

3 February, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER, — Thanks for your two letters 22 December and 6 January received yesterday. There will be a row about that letter in —. Why did you not put the date? It was written about 16 October. If they send that Black regiment to the Soudan to quell the revolt they will inoculate all the troops up there and the Soudan† will revolt against Cairo, whom they all hate.

Kanoun means military canon or law ; the English canon comes from Arabic Kanoun, sugar comes from Arabic Sukar.

About the opium article, I think your article reads well.‡ But the question is this. The Chinese *amour propre*, as a nation, is hurt by the enforced entry of the drug. This irritation is connected with the remembrance of the wars which led to the Treaties about opium. Had eggs or apples been the cause of the wars—*i.e.*, had the Chinese objected to the import of eggs, and we had insisted on their being imported, and carried out such importation in spite of the Chinese wish, by force of war, it would be to my own mind the same thing as opium now is to Chinese. We do not give the Chinese credit for being so sensitive as they

* These letters related to Egyptian affairs, and after perusal, were passed on to a prominent member of Parliament.

† Surely this was prophetic !

‡ On this question General Gordon and myself differed in principle, yet I think he felt very much as I did. It will be noted that General Gordon's argument cedes the question of the injury caused by opium smoking.

are. As Black Sea treaty was to Russia, so opium trade is to China.

I take the root of the question to be as above. I do not mean to say that all that they urge is fictitious about morality; and I would go further than you, and say I think they would willingly give up their revenue from opium,* indeed I am sure of it, if they could get rid of the forced importation by treaty, but their action in so doing would be simply one of satisfying their *amour propre*. The opium importation is a constant reminder of their defeats, and I feel sure China will never be good friends with us till it is abolished. It is for that reason I would give it up, for I think the only two alliances worth having are France and China.

I have never when I have written on it said anything further than this, *i.e., the Chinese Government will not have it*, let us say it is a good drug or not. I also say that it is not fair to force anything on your neighbour, and therefore morally it is wrong, even if it was eggs.

Further, I say that through our thrusting these eggs on China, this opium, we caused the wars with China, which shook the prestige of the Peking Government, and the outcome of these wars of 1842 was the Taiping Rebellion with its death of 13 millions. The military prestige of the Mantchus was shaken by these defeats, the heavy contribution for war led to thousands of soldiers being disbanded, to a general impoverishment of the people, and this gave the rebel chief Hung-tsew-tsiuen * his chance.

A wants B to let him import eggs. B refuses. A coerces him; therefore I say it is wrong, and that it is useless discussing whether eggs are good or not.

Can any one doubt but that if the Chinese Government had the power, they would not stop importation to-morrow? If so why keep a pressure like this on China, whom we

* This argument was refuted by the Convention of 1886 amalgamating Lekin and import duty.

* The chief of the Taipings.

need as a friend, and with whom this importation is, and ever will be the sole point about which we could be at variance. I know this is the point with Li Hung Chang.

People may laugh at *amour propre* of China. It is a positive fact, they are most pig-headed on these points. China is the only nation in the world which is forced to take a thing she does not want.

England is the only nation which forces another nation to do this in order to benefit India by this act.

Put like this it is outrageous.

Note this, only certain classes of vessels are subject to the Foreign Customs Office at Canton. By putting all vessels under that office, the Chinese Government would make two million pounds a year more revenue. The Chinese Government will not do this however, because it would put power in hands of foreigners—so they lose it.

Did you ever read the letters of Ambassador before Marquis Tseng? His name, I think, was Coh or Kwoh. He wrote home to Peking about Manchester telling its wonders, but adding, "These people are wonderful, but the masses are miserable far beyond Chinese. They think only of money, and not of the welfare of the people."

Any foreign nation can raise the bile of Chinese by saying look at the English, they forced you to take their opium.

I should not be a bit surprised did I hear that Li Hung Chang smoked opium himself. I know a lot of the Princes do, so they say. I have no doubt myself that what I have said is the true and only reason, or rather root reason. Put our nation in the same position of having been defeated and forced to accept some article which they used to consider bad for the health, like tea used to be; we would rebel as soon as we could against it, though our people drink tea. The opium trade is a standing, ever-present memento of defeat and heavy payments;* and the Chinese cleverly take advantage of the fact that it is a deleterious drug.

* With all this I am in entire agreement.

The opium wars were not about opium—opium was only a *cheval de bataille*; they were against the introduction of foreigners, a political question, and so the question of opium import is now. As for the loss to India by giving it up it is quite another affair. On one hand, you have gain, an embittered feeling, and an injustice; on the other, you have loss, friendly nations, and justice. Cut down pay of all officers in India to *Colonial* allowances *above* rank of captains. Do not give them Indian allowances, and you will cover nearly the loss I expect. Why should officers in India have more than officers in Hongkong?

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON..

P.S.—I think the site of Eden is Seychelles, where is the Tree of Life and of Knowledge.

7 February, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Mr. Gladstone in bringing in the Irish Land Bill made mention of the twenty millions granted to West Indian planters in 1833. Could you copy out the paragraph in which he says this. It is about the date of March I think, or April, 1881. I hope this will not give you much trouble, as the speech must be *in extenso* in all the papers and in "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates." It will not be any use writing to me here after 5 March. My safest address then is 5, Rockstone Place, Southampton.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—Please return the enclosed papers when done with to Sir Henry Gordon. The last paper B has not been published. It is at your disposal.* I hate those who seek to make strife in an underhand manner, *i.e.*, in egging on Li against Peking.

* It was used of course, but it would be breach of confidence to state how or where.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,

20 July, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letters, 25th March and 25th May, received yesterday. Thanks paragraph Gladstone's speech. As for the opium to which you say the same objection applies as to tea, &c., it is not so, for opium has for ages been a tabooed article among Chinese respectable people. I own reluctance to foreign intercourse applies to what I said, but the Chinese know that the intercourse with foreigners cannot be stopped, and it, as well as the forced introduction of opium, are signs of defeat; yet one, that of intercourse, cannot be stopped or wiped away, while the opium question can be. I am writing in a hurry, so am not very clear.

What I mean is, that no one country forces another country to take a drug like opium, and therefore the Chinese feel the forced introduction of opium as an intrusion and injustice; thence their feelings in the matter. This, I feel sure, is the case.

What could our Government do in *re* opium? Well, I would say let the clause of treaty lapse about it, and let the smuggling be renewed. Hongkong is a nest of smugglers.

Pekin would, or rather could, never succeed in cutting off foreign intercourse. The Chinese are too much mixed up (and are increasingly so every year) with foreigners, for Pekin even to try it. Also I do not think China would wish to stop its importation altogether. All they ask is an increased duty * on it.

I have had a lot to do here. My predecessor, Colonel —, built up a regular red tape establishment here, which I have had to pull down. To my mind the colony is a fine manly one, and far better than I had expected to find it. I have been all over the Transkeian provinces, and am now well up in the state of affairs. Good-bye.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

* Which they have now obtained.

P.S.—I have written a paper, "Israel in Egypt," which you can get from my brother. It begins by Cave's mission, goes on to trace Cherif's fall, and I think conclusively shows Bondholders have been cause of all these troubles.

Why did Cherif fall? because Controllers would not let notables see the Budget. I own through mismanagement the crisis was bound to come, sooner or later; but as far as our political position was concerned, it mattered little to England if notables had seen the Budget or not.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,

8 August, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letter, 6th July, just received. . . .

I am going up to Basutoland at end of this week, and hope that the colony may get free from that embroglio.

What an extraordinary *finale* to Sir Charles Dilke's reticent policy, to end with no Khedive, no Controller, no Consuls-General, no Debt, no interest, no trade, a bombarded and burnt Alexandria! I wonder whether it is necessary to have been so reticent in order to carry out these measures.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON,

24 November, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your telegram and letter. I only got them to-night, on my return here. Thanks for your writing, but with me it is now this—I am not better if *praised*, I am not worse if *blamed*. I am what I am, and so I mean to be quiet. I do not care much what is said. . . .

Your sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

JAFFA,

14 August, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letter received to-day. I hope you are well and comforted (you are never forgotten by me). I have removed from Jerusalem to this place, and may go to Gaza, but I shall not as far as I see leave Palestine, for it is a country which I delight in, from its old and varied history. One's mind can always find food, besides it is quiet.

I do not think I could enlighten *you* about China. Her game is and will be to wait events, and she will try and work so as to embroil us with France if she does go to war. For this there would be plenty of elements in the Treaty Ports. One may say, humanly speaking, China going to war with France must entail our following suit. It would be a bad thing in some ways for civilization, for the Chinese are naturally so bumptious that any success would make them more so; and if allied to us, and they had success, it would be a bad look-out afterwards. This in private. Li Hung Chang as Emperor, if such a thing came to pass, would be worse than the present Emperor, for he is sharp and clever, would unite China under a Chinese dynasty, and be much more troublesome to deal with. Altogether I cannot think that the world would gain if China went to war with France. Also I think it would be eventually bad for China. China being a queer country, we might expect queer things, and I believe if she did go to war she would contract with Americans for the destruction of French fleet, and she would let loose a horde of adventurers with dynamite. This is essentially her style of action, and Li Hung Chang would take it up; but do not say I think so.

Here is a subject * which I am interested in if it could be done. The reasons are :

1. We are in Egypt supporting an unpopular sovereign, whose tenure ends with departure of our troops. We offer

* In this letter General Gordon stated his views on the Jordan Canal much more fully and clearly than on any other occasion.

no hope to the people of any solace by this support, and by the supporting of the Turco-Circassian Pachas, who I know by experience are *hopeless*. We neither govern nor take responsibility; yet we support these vampires.

2. We are getting mixed up with the question of whether the interest of £90,000,000 will be paid or not.

3. We are mixed up with the Soudan, where we provoked the rebellion, and of the responsibility of which government we cannot rid ourselves.

4. We are in constant and increasing hot water with the French, and we gain no benefit from it, for the Canal still remains theirs.

On the other hand, if we get a Firman from Sultan for the Palestine Canal—

1. We lose the sacred sites of Jordan river, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Tiberias. Jericho, not Engedi.

2. We swamp a notoriously unhealthy valley where there are no missions.

3. We cut off the pest of the country of Palestine, the Bedouins.

4. We are free of all four objections in re-occupation of Egypt.

5. We gain the fertile lands of Moab and Ammon.

6. Cyprus is 150 miles from the Mediterranean *debouché*.

7. We get a water-way for large ships to within 50 miles of Damascus.

8. We can never be bothered by any internal commotion, except for the 25 miles from Haifa to Tiberias, for the water-way of the canal would be 10 miles wide except in Arabah Valley, where there are on both sides wastes and deserts.

9. We get rid of unhealthiness of a narrow cut with no current, which is the case with Suez Canal now, where the mud is pestilential from ships' refuse and no current.

10. It would isolate Palestine, render it quiet from

Bedouins ; it would pave the way to its being like Belgium under no Great Power, for religious views would be against Palestine ever being owned by a Great Power.

11. Up the ladder of Tyre to Gaza would be 10,000 square miles ; population 130,000, quite a small country.

Do not quote me if you write this. Oddly enough, Ezekiel xlvii. 10 seems to say the Dead Sea shall have fish like the Great Sea (*i.e.*, Mediterranean). Zechariah xiv. speaks of two rivers, one going to Dead Sea, the other to Mediterranean.

The cost would be—

Canal from Haifa to Jordan	£2,000,000
Compensation to Jordan peoples	1,000,000
Canal through Arabah	6,000,000
Ports at Haifa... ..	1,000,000
Ports at Akabah	500,000
	<hr/>
	£10,500,000

Say 12 to 15 millions, and what a comfort to be free of Egypt and Soudan for ever !

Revenue Palestine £120,000, of which £80,000 goes to Sultan. Do not quote *me*, for I have written part of this to Mr. W. Mackinnon, of B. I. S. N. C., besides which H.M. Government may object.

Believe me, with kindest regards, yours sincerely.

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—You may say you had a letter from a correspondent.

JAFFA,

17 November, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I fear I can write nothing of any import, so I will not attempt it. To you I can remark that if I were the Government I would consider the part that should be taken when the inevitable fall of the Mantchu Dynasty takes place, what steps they would take, and how they would act in the break up, which however will only end in a fresh cohesion of China, for we or no

other Power could ever for long hold the country. At Penang, Singapore, &c., the Chinese will eventually oust us, in another generation.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

BELLEVUE HOTEL, BRUSSELS,

3 January, 1884.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I send you a small note which you can make use of, but I beg you will not let my name appear under any circumstances. When in London I had printed a pamphlet in Arabic with all the papers (official) concerning Zebehr Pasha, and his action in pushing his son to rebel. It is in Arabic. My brother has it. It is not long, and would repay translating and publishing. It has all the history and the authentic letters found in the Divan of Zebehr's son, when Gessi took his stockade. It is in a cover blue and gold. It was my address to people of Soudan. *Apologia*.

Privately I tell you I am going, D.V., to Congo next month, but do not mention it.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—I hope you and yours are well. May 1884 bring you greater union with our Lord. Isaiah xix. 19, 20, 21, has a wonderful prophecy about Egypt and the Saviour who will come from the frontier.

[Note enclosed.]

“A correspondent writes that it may seem inexplicable why the Mahdi's troops attacked Gezireh, which, as its name signifies, is an isle near Berber, but there is an old tradition that our future ruler of the Soudan will be from that isle. Zebehr Rahama knew this, but he fell on leaving his boat at this isle, and so though the Soudan people looked on him as a likely saviour this omen shook their

confidence in him. He was then on his way to Cairo after swearing his people to rebel (if he was retained there) under a tree at Shaka. Zebehr will most probably be taken prisoner by the Mahdi, and will then take the command of the Mahdi's forces. The peoples of the Soudan are very superstitious, and the fall of the flag by a gust of wind on the proclamation of Tewfik at Kartoum, was looked on as an omen of the end of Mehemet Ali's dynasty. There is an old tree opposite Cook's office at Jerusalem, in Tophet, belonging to an old family, and protected by Sultan's firman, which the Arabs consider will fall when the Sultan's rule ends. It lost a large limb during Turco-Russian war, and is now in a decayed state. There can be no doubt but that the movement will spread into Palestine, Syria, and Hedjaz. At Damascus already proclamations have been posted up, denouncing Turks and Circassians, and this was before Hicks was defeated. It is the beginning of the end of Turkey.

"Austria, backed by Germany, will go to Salonica, quieting Russia by letting her go into Armenia. England and France neutralizing one another.

"If not too late, the return of the ex-Khedive Ismail to Egypt, and the union of England and France to support and control the Arab movement, appears the only chance. Ismail would soon come to terms with the Soudan, the rebellion of which countries was entirely due to the oppression of the Turks and Circassians."

[Post Card.]

BRUSSELS,

4 *January*, 1884.

I FORGOT to mention that Zebehr on his way to Cairo from the conclave at Tru married the daughter of Elias Pacha at Obeid. This Elias Pacha joined the Mahdi at beginning of his career, and is with the Mahdi now. It is through Elias that Zebehr works.

C. G. G.

[Post Card.]

BRUSSELS.

History of Arabic MS.

ANXIOUS that the people of Soudan should not think that the repression of revolt Zebahr's son was purely a question of slavery I printed his at Khartoum for general information with an address to people, showing them that the question was one of the existence of regular Government or of chaos. The whole batch of copies were annexed *en route* by Tewfik, and I got with difficulty two copies. The contents speak for themselves.

C. G. G.

5 January, 1884.

I SHALL D.V. be at Southampton on Monday evening. I want to see your scuttlers (boys) ere I go, which will be 25 January, 1884.

[Post Card.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

12 January, 1884.

THANKS for your note in *re Pall Mall Gazette*. I was cornered, and there was no help for it. I felt sorry * for *your sake*. I have not read any newspapers, and do not mean to do so, while in England.

C. G. G.

I will see you between 18-25 January, D.V.

[Post Card, 2.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

13 January, 1884.

SORRY I cannot oblige you. I have already said too much. I am leaving England Wednesday D.V. to avoid any more newspaper worries.

C. G. GORDON.

* General Gordon refers to his promise to me that whatever he wrote for the press should be sent through me. It was my bad luck to be confined at Folkestone interviewing the Marquis Tseng at the very

[Post Card, 3.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

13 January, 1884.

Do not mention my flight from England.

C. G. GORDON.

[Post Card.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

14 January, 1884.

THANKS for your kind note and the photo of your children—nice little things. I shall be at Waterloo Station at 1.36 p.m. Tuesday if you are walking that way.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

It is scarcely necessary to add that I was "walking that way." From Waterloo we drove to the War Office where, owing to the lateness of the train, General Gordon missed Lord Hartington but saw Lord Wolseley. I then left him with an appointment at his brother's house in Elm Park Road, for half-past nine. I there performed for him the solemn task of witnessing his will, coupled with an appointment for the following morning at Charing Cross Hotel at the early hour of seven o'clock, under the temptation that he would unfold to me his plans on the Congo *en route* to Dover. My duties kept me up late that night, and it was only by surrendering my tub, and much physical exertion, that I succeeded in reaching the station two minutes before the early express train started. In the meantime General Gordon had postponed his departure till the 9.40 express. I was fortunate to find him on the platform looking out for me, and we adjourned to the dingy smoking-room at the Charing Cross Hotel when, with map unfolded, he laid down his plans on the Congo—grand plans, which other and smaller men will realise. Yet

moment General Gordon landed in England. I mention this in no disparagement of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which deserves all credit for its journalistic enterprize in anticipating me.

I cannot help mentioning how blind I was throughout that interview, for when the subject turned from the Congo to the Nile General Gordon always said to me. "There may be a respite," showing that his heart was more in Egypt than in Central Africa. The plans on the Congo were revealed in due course to the public, although there is no doubt, that at the time General Gordon unfolded them he knew his destination would be the Nile, and not the Congo. At the same time, he had given me a hint which I was too obtuse to take. Although communications passed between us, that was the last occasion on which I saw Chinese Gordon.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE most important and interesting events of the quarter in India relate more to local affairs than to any question of general or imperial magnitude, unless, indeed, the Tibetan imbroglio should unfortunately prove the beginning of a serious border estrangement between ourselves and the Chinese. The events are annoying in themselves, and must naturally irritate those who would like to see the attention of the Government of India given up to questions of internal policy and of social progress. But at the same time they serve a useful purpose in bringing home to us the perception that the stern facts of the case will not admit of any Utopian ideas, and that our first and main duty is, and long will be, to afford protection to the inhabitants of India. Notwithstanding all the talk of National Congresses, local self-government, and the introduction of natives to the highest offices in the service, British power in India resembles in its chief essentials an armed camp in the midst of a neutral population. We are naturally loth to admit the facts, and the lofty motives upon which our policy towards the peoples of India is based, incline us to adopt the conviction that our feelings must be reciprocated, and that our first task is to confer political privileges and position rather than to promote the prosperity of the country, and to defend the people of the country against external aggression and their own weakness and divisions.

The frontier complications in Sikhim, Chittagong, and Hazara, furnish recent evidence that India is surrounded by hostile tribes and races who only want an example and encouragement to wreak as much mischief as lies within their power. In each case the enemy may be described as

insignificant, yet the Shendons have destroyed a valuable English life in Lieutenant Stewart, the Akazais have cost their country and their friends Colonel Battye and Captain Urmston, and the Tibetans have violated Indian territory with almost absolute impunity, and are still openly defiant. However reluctant the Government of India may be to resort to extreme measures, and to incur the expense of punitive expeditions, there is no doubt that it will be obliged to act in each and all of these cases with vigour. It must also be hoped that its proceedings will be marked by promptitude, for delay, far from lessening our difficulties, will only add to the confidence of the unfriendly tribes, and encourage them to give us fresh provocation. While it is necessary for the sake of the tranquillity of the Punjab frontier that the Agror outrage should be effectually avenged, it is not less incumbent upon us, with a view to the speedier pacification of Burmah, to punish the Shendons.

With regard to the latter task it may be remarked that the initial mistakes made when we first ascended the Irrawaddy, were too great to admit of the hope being entertained that the pacification of the country could be accomplished in the easy and complete fashion that seemed attainable before the occupation of Mandalay. Still, the least sanguine could hardly have anticipated that the progress would have been so slow, that so little would have been done in two years and a half to improve the communications of the country, and that our border relations with China would still be undefined. The operations in the Chin Valley and the Kakhyen hills are far from having produced any decisive result; and under all the circumstances it seems particularly fortunate that we have left the settlement of our relations with the Shans to the future. At the same time the Government of India is bound to consider very carefully whether it is prudent to delay any longer in taking the leading part in providing Burmah with some of the railways of which it stands in absolute need, and which are as much a political as a commercial necessity.

The frontier incidents enumerated are trifling in themselves, but they re-act on more important matters, and on political problems of the first magnitude. If they are not firmly grappled with now, they will become aggravated, and ultimately attain serious dimensions. All things considered, we have for many years enjoyed exceptional tranquillity on the Punjab frontier, but during the last twelve months the clans on the Yusufzai and Hazara borders have been restless, and indulged their marauding instincts. The attack on the Goorkha detachment near Ughi showed still greater boldness, as the detachment was a fairly strong one, commanded by two Europeans. The force, unsuspecting of attack within our territory, seems to have been taken at a disadvantage, and the fall of the English officers early in the fray naturally increased the confidence of the Pathans. There is no saying how much more serious the reverse would have been had not the native officer, Subahdar Kishnibir, shown most praiseworthy steadiness. For the benefit of those who will feel disposed to attribute the attack to the venturesomeness of the English officers, it may be added that the whole affair took place within the Indian frontier and on British territory.

With regard to our little war with Tibet, the capture of the fort at Lingtu, and the repulse of the Tibetan attack in the Jelapla Pass, has not been followed by the submission of the lamas, or by their resigning their claims over the Sikhim Rajah. As far as can be made out the Tibetans have collected a large force in the Chumbi Valley, preliminary to re-occupying the Jelapla Pass, and we have been obliged to again push forward the troops that had been withdrawn to Darjeeling. The fear has been expressed that we may find ourselves drawn into despatching an expedition to Lhasa. Such an operation would be extremely disagreeable and unfortunate, as it could hardly fail to embroil us with China. But it seems clear that there can be no settlement of the Sikhim difficulty which does not compel the Tibetans to retire from the Chumbi Valley, and

to recognize that all the territory dependent upon the Rajah of Sikkim is within British territory, and outside the dominion of Lhasa. To effect this we must certainly cross the Jalapla Pass, but it is still more necessary to have an amenable chief at Tumlong.

The subject of the defence of India continues to occupy the attention of the Government, but it cannot be said that many of the numerous excellent projects which have been put forward by competent authorities have yet been carried into practice. The delay is no doubt due to the financial difficulties of the Government, and it is now proposed to raise a special loan for the exclusive purposes of military defence, which includes the improved armament of the Indian forces, the increase of that army, and the completion of several railways and fortifications. Such a loan would be unquestionably just, for the benefits accruing from it will be enjoyed by future generations as well as the present, and there would be an additional advantage in devoting a large sum to the object in its inspiring the Government with confidence to do the work thoroughly. If a loan is resorted to, it should be one for a large sum, and it is just possible that an effort would be made to secure for it some special support from the Native States, who would be informed that this would be the most simple and effectual way of bearing their share in the matter of the Imperial defence of India. Although we do not approve of the delay which has taken place in definitely accepting and utilizing the offers of the native princes, headed by the Nizam, we still recognize the practical value of some such compromise as that indicated in the preceding few lines, if it be deemed impolitic to accept these offers in the form in which they were originally made. The main point is that the time has almost arrived when the Government of India cannot bear singly the whole expense of defending Hindostan against Russia, and that whether willingly or unwillingly the Native States will have to bear their share in the outlay.

It was to the credit of the Nizam that he was the first

to show that he realized the force of this obligation, and if it be true, as is alleged, that the Sirdar Diler Jung was the chief adviser of his prince in this matter, the fact should be remembered in his favour when blame is cast upon him for other matters.

The question of the defence of India is intimately connected with the great Eastern Question, in which the English Government has a larger interest than any other, and such being the case we are bound to watch vigilantly all the events which bear upon it by affecting or modifying the policies of the other great Powers. It would be weak to attempt to deny that the death of the Emperor Frederick has injuriously affected the interests of this country, not merely by diminishing the chances of peace, but still more seriously by the substitution of a ruler at Berlin who is not unwilling to look on as a passive spectator while Russia carries out many of her plans in the Balkan Peninsula and Armenia. The position is really this, that Germany under the late Emperor was less likely to be drawn into war with France at an early date, and therefore more able and willing to assist in maintaining the balance of power threatened by the undue expansion of Russia ; while under her present ruler the chances of a collision between Germany and France are seriously increased, with the result that the Berlin Government is anxious to arrange for the neutrality of Russia by satisfying some of her numerous aspirations, while the two principal antagonists fight out their old struggle. The solution of the problem depends on what Russia will take as her minimum satisfaction, and upon how far the Czar's claims and demands can be reconciled with the present requirements of Austria-Hungary. It is not necessary that they should be permanently reconcilable, for the main object of Prince Bismarck is to avoid having France and Russia on his back at the same time.

It will be the general complaint that Prince Bismarck's policy is selfish and self-seeking, but it should be an ample reply to this that he is only called upon to consider what

is to the interest of Germany, and if it be argued that Germany has certain interests in the Black Sea and at Constantinople, then it may be fairly urged, who is to judge what Germany's interests are better than she herself. But this is not the line of defence which a German need employ towards an English critic. He has only to meet a charge of selfishness by pointing to the simplest facts which will show how far more selfish England is, and must needs be. Germany is not a Mediterranean Power, which England has made herself *vi et armis*; Germany has no road to India to protect; the outlets of German trade are at Hamburg and Bremen (perhaps at Antwerp and Amsterdam), not at Constantinople or Salonica. The stake of England in the Eastern Question exceeds that of any other Power, while at the same time our insular security, and the remoteness from attack of our vulnerable points (for even the invasion of India would at this moment be a serious and uncertain undertaking), give us the strongest reasons for speaking out boldly and promptly when it becomes a question of saying whether we will or will not allow a certain step to be taken. Has English policy been characterized, since the days of Pitt, if we except short periods of Lord Palmerston's tenure of office, by this courage and outspokenness? And yet in comparison with Continental Powers we risk little or nothing by plain speaking. Prince Bismarck has taken a merely common-sense view of the situation, and seeing that England hesitates to make the Danube an Ebro, or Constantinople a Saguntum, refuses peremptorily to act with greater vigour in matters of secondary moment for Germany than England, with whom they should be a first concern.

But it will be said that the interests of Austria-Hungary are not inferior to those of England, and that the Dual Monarchy will necessarily involve Germany in her own life and death struggle with Russia, and in considering this we shall not insinuate that under any circumstances Germany will commit the mistake of abandoning her truest ally.

But while there is no question of desertion, there is a very large margin of delay left by the necessity of impressing on the Vienna cabinet the views of the chancellor as to the right of Russia to go to Constantinople—provided, of course, that England, the chief party concerned, will not take the lead in preventing her getting there. We have to assume that at the forthcoming interview between the Czar and the young Emperor William the whole question will be discussed, and it seems to us that as a temporizing measure Russia might be allowed Germany's sanction to take Constantinople *by sea*, which could be done without much difficulty; while Austria would receive the equivalent of being allowed to go to Salonica. The Bulgarian question would thus be left over for a future settlement, but Russia being given full occupation in carrying out her own plans could not think of interfering between Germany and France.

It is not probable that in the present state of public opinion here, and with the prevailing belief as to our military unpreparedness—it would puzzle the historical student to say when we were prepared—a very bold policy would be sanctioned in face of Germany's acquiescence in Russia seizing Constantinople. The misfortunes of Turkey would then have reached their height. She would have lost her foothold in Europe, and the Sultan's garrisons in Asia, clamouring for their pay, could only provide a very feeble prop for any new Ottoman Empire in the East. The probability is that the fall of Constantinople would carry with it the fate of Erzeroum and Trebizonde, where the garrisons are at this moment clamouring for their pay, and on the verge of mutiny. Whether the process proved slow or rapid, the inevitable fate of the Turkish dominions would be to be partitioned between Russia and Austria, and the Asiatic provinces in their present condition could not but share the fate of those in Europe.

That we are not in the least degree exaggerating the evil pass to which the Sultan's power has been brought even in Asia, the following incident will show :

“ Marshal Nusret Pacha, late in command of the Army Corps stationed at Erzeroum, has been removed to Bagdad under the following circumstances :—Nusret, who at one time held a very high post in the Sultan’s household, was some years back entrusted with a mission to the Shah of Persia. On that occasion the gallant officer made a somewhat indiscreet speech before his Persian Majesty, which gave great offence at Yildiz, and as a consequence he was removed to Erzeroum. The memory of Nusret Pacha’s ill-fated utterances at Teheran had faded from the mind of Abdul Hamid, when suddenly a telegram reached his Majesty from the Marshal, bluntly acquainting the Commander of the Faithful with his (Nusret’s) intention to desert to the Russians if he, his officers, and the men under his command were not paid their arrears of salary forthwith. The Sultan, instead of complying with the terms of this singular ultimatum, ordered him to take command of the troops at Bagdad, where it would be a matter of much greater difficulty to carry out his threat of joining the Russians.”

The disruption and disappearance of the Turkish Government has long been pronounced inevitable, but now that it seems drawing so close, is it an agreeable prospect for this country, and would it not be well for us to take in good time such selfish stock of the situation and of our own national interests as Prince Bismarck has done of Germany’s at Berlin? Where shall we find a less exacting ally than Turkey has been? where one who commands the services of better or more devoted soldiers? where one that still retains possession of strategical points calculated to curb Russia’s aggressiveness and to curtail her dominion? Yet for a mere humanitarian idea, which is baseless of fact, we would surrender ally, military contingents, and strategical places, as well as a historical policy which has only failed from our own half-heartedness in carrying it out. Prince Bismarck is unquestionably right in saying that he will not risk a German grenadier in opposing the southward march of Russia until that selfish Power, England, has openly taken her stand in opposition to Russia’s aggressive plans at the expense of Turkey. The Eastern Question is about to be re-opened in one form or another, and we have no time to delay in deciding what our policy is to be both in Europe and Asia.

The consequences that would be entailed by either the disappearance of Turkey or the conversion of the Sultan

into a vassal of the Czar would not fail to be serious to this country. Not merely would Russia clear from her path the formidable opponent with whom she has been engaged in mortal struggle for three centuries, but she would acquire possession of the finest recruiting ground in the world, and the courageous Osmanli would not be loth to practise their military calling under the Russian eagle, more especially when it provided the opportunity of gratifying their resentment against England, as the country to whose desertion they mainly attributed the fall of their own state. It is idle for any one to attempt to face such a contingency with indifference. It is difficult enough to hold Egypt under present conditions, but it would be simply impossible if Turkish intrigue and Russian force were at the same time arrayed against us. If we allow Turkey to be overthrown—and there will be no way of reviving her in Asia after the loss of Constantinople—we cannot expect otherwise than to be placed in a position of serious and increasing embarrassment and peril, both with regard to Egypt and in the Mediterranean. Our only rational policy is to co-operate with the Sultan and with Austria and Italy in keeping Russia out of Constantinople.

With regard to the Far East, the only events of any immediate interest are associated with the kingdom of Corea, where affairs are again approaching a crisis. At the risk of its appearing to some that we see a Russian in every bush, we assert that the recent seditious movements at Seoul, all arising out of the events which led to the despatch of the Corean Embassy to the United States, have been carefully fomented by the Russian Consul in the Corean capital. The recall of that Embassy has been due to a strenuous effort on the part of the Chinese party in Corea; and although it succeeded in discrediting that particular mission, and in reasserting China's general rights to supervise the external relations of Corea, it entailed as its penalty an increased effort on the part of the anti-Chinese party (which is composed of the Japanese and Russian

factions, as well as of patriots), who have now apparently succeeded in raising a fresh *émeute* in Corea, in showing that the Chinese are not to have it all their own way, and in affording Russian consuls and American fillibusters with a fresh field of distinction. It is through gentlemen of the latter kidney that Russia is now seeking to work, and unless Li Hung Chang takes a very firm and decisive line, we shall very soon have upon our hands the same question that troubled us so much in the days of Ward, Burgevine, and Holland, and it would be absurd for us to expect a Gordon to extricate us from our difficulties at every stage of the Chinese problem. We are still in the dark as to what has recently taken place in Corea, but we cannot doubt that the events which have occurred are adverse to China and indirectly to us, and that it therefore behoves us to keep a watch on Russian and American doings in this quarter. There is nothing to report with regard to Japan, and equally little in respect to China. The decline of its tea export is, however, a material fact in the history of the latter country, and there can be no doubt that it is fraught with serious consequences for China, and perhaps indirectly for the external relations of that country.

The only other events connected with the Chinese Empire to which we need allude are the projected journey of General Prjevalsky to Lhasa for a fifth, or it may be a sixth, time in September, and the death, by murder, of Mr. Dalglish. With regard to the former, we can await its consummation philosophically; and with regard to the latter, we sincerely deplore the loss of a gallant and energetic pioneer of English commerce, who was continuing the good work of Mr. Shaw, and keeping alive the belief that England has not resigned all interest in the land of Kashgar. We wish his murder to be avenged, but we wish still more that he shall find successors of his own class and character in this part of Asia, which is so little known, and which he had done his best to make his own, and a favourite ground of English commerce.

Some complaint has been made of the delay in pacifying Burmah, but if there were many incidents like the following, in which our esteemed contributor, Shway Yoe, played the hero, the further delay would not be great.

"The recapture of Monè from the rebel leader Tweek-nga-lu in the beginning of May is a good example of what rapid and determined action will do with a semi-civilized enemy. The relieving party, under Colonel Sartorius, of the 1st Beloochees, started at daybreak, in a downpour of rain, from a village in the hills to the west of Monè. About two miles from the town Mr. Scott, the Assistant-Superintendent of the Shan States, with Lieutenant Fowler of the Beloochees and six men of the Rifle Brigade mounted on officers' ponies, went off from the main column to make a dash on the palace. Mr. Scott had been in Monè several times before, and was able to take the party by a jungle-path round the south of the town. From there they galloped straight on the palace, disregarding the armed men in the streets. The eastern gate was fortunately ajar, so that it was not necessary to dismount. The clatter of the hoofs brought Tweek-nga-lu to a window. Mr. Scott knew him by sight, and, with the assistance of a soldier, had the rebel tied to his own bed-post within two minutes of entering the palace enclosure, which is over a hundred yards square and full of detached houses. Tweek-nga-lu had a repeating rifle loaded with sixteen cartridges lying by his bedside, but had not time to seize it. The four gates were then closed and guarded by one man each, and another guarded Tweek-nga-lu. Mr. Scott and Mr. Fowler, with the corporal of the party, then went to meet the body-guard of twenty men, all armed with guns. Mr. Scott demanded the name of the leader, who proved to be Tweek-nga-lu's chief fighting-man. He then announced who he was, and called on them in Shan to sit down, advancing all the time. Kunsang, the leader, refused; whereupon Mr. Scott promptly knocked him down, seized the gun of the man behind him, and shouted out that he would shoot any one who did not sit down immediately. The corporal and Mr. Fowler each covered his man as he came on. Before the Shans could realize the situation five had been disarmed and the rest then gave in. Messrs. Scott and Fowler collected all the guns and swords, the corporal kneeling in the Hythe position ready to fire. In five minutes the palace was completely in their hands, and the main column was heard firing to the north of the town. A quarter of an hour later they marched into the palace and found everything settled, Tweek-nga-lu bound, and his chief leaders under guard."

With regard to the Central Asian railway it is interesting to note that the *Novoye Vremya* states that

"After having traversed the most impracticable desert of the Turcomans, crossed the Amou Darya and the territory of the Ameer of Bokhara, the Trans-Caspian railway has re-entered Russian territory, stopping for the

time at Samarcand, 1,350 versts (or 900 miles) east of the Caspian Sea. There is little doubt that this line will be continued in a short time to the provinces beyond Samarcand—Tashkent, Ferghana, and Semiretchia being among the richest possessions in Central Asia, abounding in water, and being therefore capable of colonization and cultivation. At the same time, the Trans-Caspian line presents in its existing form an aspect of which the political and commercial importance cannot be mistaken. What principally distinguishes this enterprise is the rapidity with which it has been completed. These 900 miles of railway have been laid down in three years, if deduction is made for the moments of indecision which occurred during the construction of the line. Such rapidity is without precedent in Russia, and it is even rare in the world's annals if the difficulties to be overcome are taken into consideration. All the obstacles of moving sands, want of water, and the absence of all necessities on the spot, were overcome by the energy of General Annenkoff and of the two railway battalions specially trained for the work. At first nobody thought that the Central Asian railway would be constructed where it has been. The Akhal Teke expedition first gave General Skobelev the idea. In June, 1880, he wrote from Krasnovodsk as follows: 'If we want to derive advantage from the enormous expenses Central Asia has cost us up to the present, we must popularize the steppe route which connects the Caspian with the basin of the Amou, and after having pacified the steppe, construct a railway to Ashkabad, and eventually to the Oxus. That, indeed, would be indispensable in view of our general position in the East.'

"Skobelev himself only constructed 25 versts of the railway, viz., as far as the wells of Mollah Kara, but this sufficed to show how necessary it was to continue the line across the desert. During the Akhal Teke campaign, this section was continued to Kizil Arvat, or for a distance of 218 versts. • Geok Tepe was, however, taken before this section was completed, but the Afghan complications demonstrated that the work begun under a different state of affairs must be prosecuted to its conclusion. Resumed in May, 1885, the works were pushed forward with such energy that in December, 1887, the first train reached Charjui, the Bokharan town on the banks of the Amou Darya. Then the iron road attained a length of 760 versts (or 510 miles) between that river and Kizil Arvat. In addition have to be taken into consideration the 26 versts of railway along the gulf of Mikhailovsky, constructed with the view of obtaining a more convenient starting point, which was selected on an islet of the bay of Uzun Ada. The further extension of the line across Bokhara and to Turkestan was dictated by commercial considerations. And now, lastly, we have just assisted at the inauguration of the Samarcand section which was commenced only in last September. Half the line (720 out of 1,350 versts) crosses the oasis, the remainder passes either across lands which are susceptible of irrigation or across shifting sands. Much energy and perseverance will be needed to water this country and plant it with trees.

"All that has been said on the one hand with regard to the exceptional cheapness of the construction of the line, and on the other hand with regard to its want of solidity, has been much exaggerated. The cost per verst has been 18,500 roubles, which is not high, but then it does not include the cost of rails, rolling stock, and the levy of the two railway bat-

talions. On the other side, many of the existing constructions cannot be regarded as permanent. In its present state, the Trans-Caspian railway will undoubtedly facilitate enormously the movement of travellers and the transport of goods, but it is still far removed from being in a position to allow of traffic on the large scale of European railways. To allow of all that, supplementary works on a vast scale must be undertaken. Bridges in particular will have to be strengthened and replaced with new structures, and the provisional bridge of $3\frac{1}{2}$ versts across the Amou Darya, which cost 280,000 roubles, is included in this category. The railway is also deficient in good water and naphtha conduits. Moreover, it is open to doubt whether Uzun Ada is the very best point of departure, and *The Novoye Vremya* expresses its strong conviction that a return to the deep water port of Krasnovodsk is only a question of a little time. Many more millions will have to be expended on the line, but even then its cost will not be as great as that of most of our lines. General Annenkoff's system has been perfectly rational. It consists in constructing at the lowest cost a railway connecting two remote localities. The commercial value of the line is shown by its receipts. In January and February they were threefold what they were last year, and there is no limit to the traffic that may arise from cotton, for the cultivation of which Central Asia is particularly well suited. Very many years, however, must elapse before Russia can hope to be able to supply all her own requirements without the assistance of America."

A subject which has long found favour in Russia, and which has been revived from time to time in a different form, is the connection of the Black and Caspian seas by means of a waterway. The latest form in which this project has been put forward is the construction of a canal from the river Don to the Volga; and the *Novosti* publishes the following interesting article on the subject:

"The idea goes back as far as the sixteenth century, at the time of the campaign of Sultan Selim against the Cossacks of the Don, undertaken for the defence of Astrakan against the attacks of the Czar of Moscow. It is well known that in the spring of 1569 Kassim Pasha and Doulet Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea, commenced piercing a canal between the Don and the Volga for a distance of 40 miles from the present station of Katchaline. The difficulties, however, proved so great that they had to abandon the task. At the end of the seventeenth century, or in 1698, to be more precise, Peter the Great entrusted the task to an English engineer named Perry, and he placed 12,000 soldiers at his disposal for the work. After a short time Peter had to abandon the undertaking owing to the more important events in the North. The Empress Catherine the Second renewed the enterprise, but she too was compelled to give up the design. In 1820 the Director-Superior of highroads thought of renewing the task, but the cost it would entail frightened him.

"The whole question was seriously revived in 1885, and on the 14th

June of that year the Imperial sanction was given to M. Maximow, a merchant of Rostow, and M. Leon Dru, a French engineer, to carry out the work. The necessary examination of the country has been carried out by the latter gentleman, aided by a Russian engineer, M. Povstansky, and two French engineers, MM. Lané and Combel, and with the following results. The cutting of the canal is pronounced feasible, and in two directions. The more northern of the two is the shorter, but it would require a greater number of locks. The southern, while entailing the construction of a canal of greater length, would require fewer locks and lighter work throughout, while it would also avoid the very incommodious passage of the Don above Kalatch. M. Dru has chosen for the departure of the canal a spot situated on the Volga below Tsaritsin. The canal is to pass *via* Prondovaia, Yagodania, Karovatka, and reaching the Don by the Karpovka valley. It will cross only one great highway (that from Tsaritsin to Sarepta), and one river, the Tchervlennaia. The soil is favourable, and as the ground is little cultivated, the cost of expropriation will be slight. The total length of the canal is to be 80 versts or about 54 miles. The estimated cost of the canal is to be 69,885,000 francs, but it has to be added that the Finance Minister, before whom the figures have been placed, has not yet given his official sanction to the undertaking."

The Nouvelle Revue of Tiflis thus describes a recent interview between General Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkestan, and the Ameer of Bokhara:—

"The interview took place at the railway station of Kermina within Bokharan territory and about forty miles from the Russian frontier. On the 31st of May, at six in the morning, the special train which brought the Governor-General entered the station. A silk tent of incomparable richness had been prepared near the platform. The Ameer was seated in this tent surrounded by a numerous suite, magnificently clothed in robes of cloth-of-gold, and with turbans of Cashmere shawls as a headdress. The sovereign sat on a throne before a table, near which was placed an armchair of honour for General Rosenbach. The meeting was very cordial. The Ameer offered the General a quantity of rich gifts—a whole troop of horses covered with caparisons embroidered with gold, over 300 robes of price, an aigrette in diamonds, and the diamond star which the late Ameer, his father, had been in the habit of wearing. In offering the last to the General, the Ameer said, among other things, that, esteeming the General as 'the father of Bokhara,' he offered him this star, without which the late Ameer, who was also called 'the father of Bokhara, the Holy,' never appeared in public."

This interview, and several other recent occurrences of a somewhat similar character, should go far to show how excellent are the relations between the present ruler of Bokhara and the Russian authorities. So long as he

remains on the throne it is evident that Russia has no need to depose him, for she is mistress of the resources of his state. The actual absorption of Bokhara into the Czar's dominion is a question of the future, and a matter of secondary importance, as Russia possesses already all the essentials of power. She can send her troops across that country by the railway, and she has the right by treaty to occupy the most important places on the Oxus whenever she deems it right so to do. Russia is now benefiting by the astute policy which led General Kaufmann, while Bokhara was quite independent and only imperfectly friendly, to gain an ascendancy over the Ameer's heir, and to give him the Russian education which has made him now so friendly to the Czar. We have had some experience of this mode of policy in India, where it has already produced some good results, and from which more may be expected in the future, and it is not surprising to find that Russia can pursue the same course. If Bokhara retains a separate colour on the map, it is none the less to all intents and purposes Russian territory.

REVIEWS.

Palestine Illustrated.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE is such an indefatigable worker that there is nothing surprising to his friends in his having undertaken in the midst of his numerous avocations and engagements to illustrate the Holy Land with pen and pencil, or rather brush. ["Palestine Illustrated," by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE. (London : W. H. Allen and Co.)] The letterpress is by the author's admission intended to play a subsidiary part to the coloured sketches or studies in oil colours made during a visit to the principal scenes and places mentioned in the New Testament. While the narrative is arranged to set forth the subjects pictorially represented, the illustrations themselves are remarkable as a bold and in our opinion successful attempt to display before the English untravelled reader the colouring of Eastern skies, foliage, waters, and buildings. So far as can be traced Sir Richard is the first traveller who has attempted this novel task, and his illustrations bring out with great boldness the broad effect of the scenery—so different, and especially in colour, from what we are accustomed to—which it is his object to depicture and describe. Among the principal and most striking of the illustrations we may select those representing Ajalon by Moonlight, Jerusalem at Sunset, the Dead Sea, the Valley of Jericho, Safed the City set on a Hill, and last, but by no means least, the Storm on the Lake of Gennesareth. From what has been said it will be gathered that this is an interesting book of an unusual character, and as it makes a very handsome volume it furnishes an excellent choice for a present.

Northern Afghanistan.

MAJOR YATE, after his return from the important mission with which he was entrusted, viz., the completion of the delimitation of the Afghan frontier, has produced a very instructive volume [*"Northern Afghanistan ; or, Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission,"* by Major C. E. YATE, C.S.I., with route maps. . (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.)], recording his experiences in the Ameer's territory from July, 1885, when he was encamped near Herat, down to his return last February from the Oxus. In the course of those two years and a half Major Yate saw by far the more interesting half of Afghanistan, and with the exception of Candahar he visited all the chief towns and fortified places. As the consequence he accumulated an immense amount of valuable information about the country and the people as well as concerning the Ameer's position, policy, and power, and he has set it forth in the present work in a very interesting and creditable manner. The earlier chapters deal with events in the neighbourhood of Herat during the summer following the Penjdeh affair, and before the signature of the Staal-Salisbury Protocol of September, 1885, defined the frontier in principle and ensured a peaceful ending of the difficulty. The middle chapters of the work relate to the definition of the borders of Afghan-Turkestan from the Murghab to the Oxus, and to the controversy about Khoja Saleh. The concluding chapters describe the return of the Commission through Cabul, and the final visit of Major Yate and Captain Peacocke to Kham-i-Ab. Where the interest is so well sustained throughout the book it may seem invidious to select any chapters for exceptional praise, but we cannot help calling special attention to the chapters entitled Cossack and Sepoy, and the Commission at Cabul. In taking our leave of this volume, which must deservedly increase Major Yate's reputation, we must make one quotation from the former of these chapters for it conveys a

serious warning for the future. "An Afghan general only the other day asked me, 'Why don't you keep a larger army? Look at the Russians, they have no money, but they have lots of men. You have lots of money, but no men. Why don't you get more? We are all ready to fight with you side by side.'" The time cannot be distant when both the English and the Indian garrisons in India will have to be materially increased. Major Yate speaks in another part of his book of the "Afghan sowar having the makings of a fine soldier in him," and there is much to be said in favour of our permanently maintaining an Afghan contingent under the orders of the Ameer but officered by Englishmen.

Jewish Portraits.

LADY MAGNUS need have no apprehension that the severest critic will deny the right of her pleasant little essays to possess a gallery to themselves. Few as they are, these "Jewish Portraits" (London: T. Fisher Unwin) will do something to bring before the ordinary reader the sort of life led by the selected people from their being led into captivity during the whole period of persecution down to the final removal, in the present century, of the pains and penalties under which they suffered even in England. Of the seven chapters four relate to the careers and work of great Jews who showed that misfortune had not sapped the intellect of that remarkable race, and that they could become distinguished in other spheres than those of commerce and finance to which jealousy would have confined them. These men were Jehudah Halevi, the poet physician of the twelfth century, Heinrich Heine, Manasseh Ben Israel, and Moses Mendelssohn. Of these the most interesting figure is certainly Manasseh Ben Israel, the printer of Amsterdam and the man whose eloquence obtained from Oliver Cromwell permission for the Jews to return to this country. Lady Magnus will

not object to our criticism that we would her sketches were more numerous.

Cashmercan Fairy Tales.

MR. HINTON KNOWLES, who was for four years a working missionary in Cashmere, has collected in this volume ["Folk Tales of Kashmir," by the Rev. J. HINTON KNOWLES. (London: Trübner & Co.)] a considerable number—about seventy—of the folk and fairy tales which pass current among the natives of that province. The author, availing himself of the constant touch into which his profession brought him with the people, took every opportunity to note down the most popular fairy tales in this part of India. These vary in both length and interest. While some are scarcely likely to become popular outside the readers interested in the locality, there are others that should have as wide a circulation as the best tales of Planchet and Grimm. In any case Mr. Hinton Knowles has done much towards recording the most striking folklore tales and traditions still preserved in certainly the most beautiful and perhaps the most important of all the Himalayan states, and his volume forms a valuable and meritorious addition to the Oriental Series.

Assyria.

IN our last number we noticed Mr. Ragozin's excellent contribution to the Story of the Nations in the form of a monograph on Chaldaea. We have now to bear testimony to the valuable and graphic companion and continuing history which he has provided to that volume in his account of Assyria (published by T. Fisher Unwin). The story is told in thirteen chapters, beginning with the rise of Asshur and ending with its fall. Asshur was the name given to both the country of Assyria, to its most ancient capital, and to its god. Mr. Ragozin gives a brief but

brilliant account of the conquests of Sennacherib and the early triumphs of Assurbanipal, or Sardanapalus, and the later risings against his rule are told in a way certain to enlist the sympathy and attention of the reader. There is at the same time no doubt that the history of both these great conquerors is very incomplete. After the death of the latter ruler the Assyrian Empire rapidly declined, and it is perhaps not remarkable that the details concerning its fall are remarkably scanty. Such as they are they are carefully gathered up and worked into a consecutive narrative by the writer of this volume. If we may venture to express in a sentence what fills many pages here, and many volumes from other authors, the Assyrians had simply outgrown their power. Like the Dutch they were a people of limited numbers, and their material resources would not admit of their retaining the pre-eminent position gained by their natural energy and priority in the field. Mr. Ragozin's work is certainly one to be read, and it will increase the reputation already belonging to the series of the Story of the Nations.

The Rig Veda Sanhita.

THIS is a collection of ancient Hindu hymns constituting the sixth and part of the seventh Ashtaka of the Rig Veda. It is translated from the original Sanscrit by Mr. H. H. Wilson, and is produced under the editorship of Messrs. Cowell and Webster. The publishers are the distinguished Oriental firm of Messrs. Trübner and Co., of Ludgate Hill.

Commentary on Esther.

WE do not feel competent to do more than record the receipt of "An Explanatory Commentary on Esther, with four Appendices, consisting of the Second Targum, translated from the Aramaic with Notes; Mithra, the Winged

Bulls of Persepolis and Zoroaster," from the pen of the learned Professor Paulus Cassel, of Berlin, and translated by the Rev. Aaron Bernstein. It forms the thirty-fourth volume of the Foreign Theological Library, and is published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh.

Egyptian Bibliography.

Two years ago we noticed the first volume of Prince Ibrahim Hilmy's remarkable bibliographical achievement in cataloguing all the works relating to Egypt and the Soudan, and now we have to record the completion of this work in a second volume, that is a worthy counterpart of its predecessor. An appendix of seventy or eighty pages gives any omissions that were inseparable from the extensive nature of the work, or any addition that has subsequently been made to the ever-growing literature on the subject. The work is dedicated to the late Khedive, Ismail Pasha, both as a filial duty, and as the man whose name was identified with Egypt at the period of its greatest prosperity in modern times. The volumes are invaluable for purposes of reference, and for this reason they are specially creditable to their compiler. It need only be added that Messrs. Trübner and Co. are the publishers.

Sanscrit Manuscripts.

WE have also to acknowledge the receipt of a Catalogue of the Sanscrit manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, prepared by Dr. Julius Eggeling, and printed by the Secretary of State in Council.

* * * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. A. Q. R.

THE

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OCTOBER, 1888.

A PAGE OF AFGHAN HISTORY.

IT is announced that on the invitation of His Highness Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan, a mission will, next month, proceed to Kabul on the part of the Indian Government, to discuss the present political situation, and attempt to arrive at an understanding on such matters of interest and gravity as may concern the two Governments, and the early settlement of which are desirable. That Lord Dufferin attaches importance to the mission is evident by his deputation of his Foreign Secretary, Mr. H. M. Durand, as its chief, accompanied by his accomplished Private Secretary, Sir Donald Wallace, whose experience of Russia and the Balkan States is unsurpassed, and who has a complete knowledge of the Eastern Question as understood in Europe—acquirements not without their value in Afghan diplomacy. A third member of this mission is Mr. F. A. Cunningham, Deputy-Commissioner of Peshawar, a man of ability and experience, who was my First Secretary and Political Assistant during the negotiations which ended with the recognition and installation of the present Ruler of Afghanistan, and to whose valuable assistance the successful result was largely due.

It is a matter of congratulation that the relations between Lord Dufferin's Government and Abdur Rahman are friendly and even cordial. Since the interview of the latter with the Viceroy in 1885, at Rawal Pindee, a much better spirit has animated the Kabul Government, and the suspicion of our intentions, and of the direction and objects of our policy, which in early days seemed the most striking characteristic of the Amir, has given place to a more complete knowledge of and a more generous confidence in the Power which not only placed him on the throne but which at great cost and trouble has maintained him there. No one knows better than Abdur Rahman that he would never have been able to build up his power and crush his numerous enemies without the material assistance given by England and the prestige with which his close alliance with her has surrounded him ; no one knows so well that to England alone will be due his future independence and safety from Russia, who, he thoroughly understands, would at once reduce Afghanistan to the position of Bokhara or Khiva if it were not for the strong and constant support of his powerful friend and neighbour.

There are many questions which may well form the subject of discussion and negotiation with Abdur Rahman. Among these a prominent place would be given to the extension of the Quetta railway to Kandahar, a strategical necessity which cannot be long delayed ; the permanent and, I believe, necessary appointment of British officers at Herat ; the connection of Kabul with Peshawar by telegraph, and the relinquishment by the Amir of his improper attempts to bring under his authority and influence the petty Khanates and independent tribes on the North-Western Frontier, Swat, Boner, Yassin, and Chitral, with which the Indian Government has always declared to his predecessors, Sher Ali and Dost Muhammad Khan, that Afghanistan has no concern. Other important questions are the determination of the succession and the nature of the guarantee that England might be disposed to give

it ; the conclusion of the long-desired treaty of offensive and defensive alliance ; the delimitation of the boundary on the Eastern Oxus, in Wakhan, Shignan and Badakshan ; and, lastly, the attitude of Muhammad Ishak Khan, first cousin of the Amir, who is reported to have raised the standard of revolt in Afghan Turkistan. Although this alleged rebellion might appear the most urgent matter for the Amir's attention, it is probable that he has no desire to discuss it with the English envoy. He is accustomed to settle his domestic affairs without interference, and the importance of the incident is doubtless exaggerated. There has never been much love lost between the Amir and Ishak Khan, who has always maintained an attitude of reserve, and who, while professing allegiance and obedience, has never sent much revenue to Kabul, and has persistently refused to visit the capital, from which he believed, with excellent reason, that he would never be permitted to return. If, in the early days of Abdur Rahman's rule, Ishak had elected to rebel, before the Amir had consolidated his power and had crushed the Ghilzais and killed their leading men, he might have had a fair chance of success. But it is unlikely that he will gain much by a rebellion which is five years too late ; and the Amir, if he has preserved his ancient energy and determination, should not have much difficulty in ousting his cousin from Turkistan, and gaining a far more complete control and mastery of that important province than he has ever possessed since he appointed Ishak Khan, who had shared his flight from Tashkend, as Governor. The result will probably be to strengthen the Amir's position ; and this is much to be wished, for, with Turkistan in unfriendly or hostile hands, the Afghan Government is exposed to constant danger from the impossibility of defending the line of the Oxus against enemies whose hopes of profitable interference might always be roused by the sight of internal confusion and discord. The Amir, however suspicious or brusque in correspondence or manners he may have been, has shown

himself a sincere ally and a warm friend of England, and it is to our direct advantage that he should crush his enemies and maintain unquestioned authority over the whole of Afghanistan, north and south of the Hindu Khush.

I do not intend in this paper to discuss Afghan policy or the questions which may arise between the Amir and the British Government. Such a discussion might be inconvenient, and would certainly be inopportune. But it has been suggested to me that it would be interesting at the present time, when Afghanistan is again attracting so much attention, and when a new mission is starting for Kabul, to give some account of my first meetings with Abdur Rahman in August and September, 1880, at Zimma and Kabul, when he had just been recognized and proclaimed Ruler of Afghanistan, and to record the impression which he produced on the first Englishmen who ever met him. The circumstances attending these interviews were noteworthy and striking: the situation was dramatic in the extreme, and the time was critical; and although my friend Mr. Howard Hensman, whom I invited to accompany me on the expedition to Zimma, has given a graphic and accurate account of its general features in his most able and trustworthy work on "The Afghan War," it may not be without interest for the chief English actor in the events in question to record such impressions as notes and memory will permit of the incidents of the interviews, and their accompanying circumstances and results, so far as this may be consistent with official propriety and reticence.

The battle of Maiwand, midway between Kandahar and the river Helmand, was fought on the 27th of July, 1880, when a well-equipped British force was defeated and overwhelmed by Sirdar Ayub Khan, in direct consequence of the crass imbecility and incompetence of its commanders, and in spite of the bravery and devotion of the troops. English and Indian, who, under Generals Stewart or Roberts, would have made short work of the enemy. But those in

command did not understand how to fight Orientals, or realize that the cautious and defensive tactics which might be successful in European warfare are fatal in Asia, where prompt attack, without counting the number of the enemy in front, is the only road of safety. Thus has our empire in India been won, and thus it can alone be maintained. Ignorance of this elementary military axiom cost us a brigade which could ill be spared, shook most seriously the English prestige in Asia, and nearly brought to the ground the whole arrangement with Abdur Rahman, together with the prospects of peace and a settled Afghanistan.

Two days after the defeat a cypher telegram containing the news reached Sir Donald Stewart, then Commanding-in-Chief at Kabul, and was at once communicated to Sir Frederick Roberts and myself. It was thought advisable to keep it secret as long as possible, in order for communication with the Government of India, and to allow time to decide on offensive or precautionary action ; while it was of the utmost importance to conclude the negotiations then pending with Abdur Rahman. The telegraph offices in Peshawar and Kabul were placed under strict surveillance, and no messages alluding to the disaster were allowed to pass except in cypher. So successful were the precautions taken, that the fact of the defeat remained unknown for two days, while its extent and grave character was not divulged until the 5th of August, by which time orders had been issued for the despatch from Kabul of an expedition under Sir F. Roberts to relieve Kandahar, while the arrangements with the Amir for his occupation of Kabul and the withdrawal of the British army had been finally concluded.

The news of the defeat of Maiwand fell upon us at Kabul like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. It seemed incredible, and we knew that it should have been impossible. It was well for England that at this time two soldiers like Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts were in

chief command at Kabul. Neither were of a nature to despond when fortune seemed unkind, and their confident spirit rose in the presence of difficulty and danger. There was thus no unworthy feeling of anxiety or alarm at the serious reverse which had befallen our arms, and the only thought was how best to retrieve the position and recover the vantage ground which the incompetence of others at a distance had caused us temporarily to lose. The immediate point for decision was whether it was possible and prudent to attempt the relief of Kandahar from the direction of Kabul, or whether it was sufficient to leave this operation to the Sind column, advancing under great difficulties from want of carriage and supplies by way of Quetta. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines, and the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, were in favour of the march from Kabul, and this bold and wise step was determined upon after long and serious consideration. Sir Donald Stewart, with admirable generosity, courage and unselfishness, denuded himself of his best officers and regiments in order to ensure the success of the expedition which Sir Frederick Roberts was to lead to the South. So much so was this the case, that the remainder of the army left behind in Kabul was in a far more difficult and anxious position than that which marched to Kandahar. It had to perform the always hazardous operation of withdrawing from a hostile country, encumbered by the sick, who were very numerous, and the ordnance stores and baggage of the united army; for the troops destined for Kandahar took with them nothing which could be dispensed with, and no artillery but mountain guns. The ten thousand men who formed Sir Frederick Roberts's force were the very pick of the army, British, Sikhs, and Goorkhas, and they could have marched straight through Asia and have defeated any force that could have been brought against them.

But it was on the political situation that the Maiwand defeat might be expected to produce the most unfortunate results. Fortune so far had been kind; although the

anxiety of the long-drawn negotiations with Abdur Rahman had been great, and the delays, inseparable from all Asiatic diplomacy, which is nothing if not patient and has no idea of the value of time, had tried the temper both of the army and of the political officers, who knew that they had not a *carte blanche* as to the period of the negotiations, and that unless a satisfactory arrangement could be completed very speedily, the Government would withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and abandon it to the anarchy from which we had good hope of saving it.

It is necessary to give an exceedingly brief *résumé* of the political situation.

When I was in Calcutta at the beginning of the year 1880 to receive the instructions of the Government of India before proceeding to Kabul to take charge of the diplomatic and political work in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan, the aspect of affairs was discouraging in the extreme. The country was in the wildest state of ferment. Our army had met with reverses, and in the month of December had been shut up in the fortified cantonment of Sherpur by General Muhammad Jan and a great array of Ghilzai and Kohistani tribesmen and influential chiefs. The commissariat arrangements of an Afghan levy are much the same as were those of Scotch Highlanders on a cattle foray two hundred years ago; and the investment of Sherpur did not last very long, though the fights which preceded it cost us a large number of gallant officers and troops. But the confusion in the country became worse confounded. No one appeared possessed of such authority or following as to warrant the Government selecting him as Amir with any hope that he would be able to hold his own when the British army had left the country. As it was necessary to make some choice, and as the restoration of Amir Yakub Khan had been declared impossible by the Government, Sirdar Hashim Khan, one of the ablest of the Barakzai family, and who appeared to be less unpopular than most of his house with the tribes, was virtually accepted

as the best candidate for the throne; but neither Sir Frederick Roberts, then commanding-in-chief at Kabul, nor the Indian Government had much faith in his prospects of success or permanence. So much was this the case, that I left Calcutta for Kabul with no positive instructions as to any of the rival candidates, but was to carefully examine the situation and determine and report who was the most suitable for the position of Amir.

It was only the day before I reached Kabul that I received the Viceroy's orders to accept Abdur Rahman as the most likely person in the interests of the Government and of Afghanistan, and to at once open up communications with him on the basis of his acceptance of Northern Afghanistan separated from Kandahar and Herat. In this choice Lord Lytton had shown the greatest wisdom and courage, and his policy in the selection has been amply justified by the events of the past eight years. Although at times, during the anxious months which passed before the proclamation of Abdur Rahman as Amir, I was compelled to doubt whether we had secured a friend or an enemy, I am confident that there was no other member of the whole Barakzai family, which is singularly devoid of men of ability and character, who could have governed Afghanistan with the skill, energy and determination shown by Abdur Rahman, or who could, indeed, have held his own successfully against rebellious chiefs and turbulent and untameable tribesmen. The selection was as courageous as it was wise; for Abdur Rahman had fled across the Oxus from Russian territory, where he had long resided as a pensioner of the Czar, treated with consideration and liberality, although he had not been allowed any political freedom and was prevented from entering Afghanistan after the death of Amir Sher Ali Khan when he considered that his chance of obtaining the throne was exceedingly good. This prohibition rankled in the mind of Abdur Rahman, who understood that the hospitality of Russia was not altogether disinterested, and that if he was to be

allowed to re-enter his country, it must be at a time when it suited Russian policy and not his own. At the same time, when Abdur Rahman crossed the Oxus with a small following into Afghan Turkistan, it was impossible for the Indian Government to know whether he had not been secretly commissioned by Russia to try his fortune and to complicate still further the English position ; while, if he were successful in winning the throne, after the withdrawal of the British army, he would have held it as the Russian nominee and in opposition to our interests.

The only way to meet the danger was to act with promptitude and decision ; to accept the attitude of Abdur Rahman as independent, and to discount any Russian promises which might have been made to him or which would be made when our objects became manifest, by offering at once more than Russia was in a position to give. As an Afghan he was certain to be alive to his own interests ; and as gratitude is not a factor in Oriental politics, he would probably be ready to side with that Power which could place and maintain him in the most favourable position. The courageous and far-sighted policy of Lord Lytton in this matter has never received due acknowledgment. It was a stroke of genius which deserved the success which has undoubtedly attended it. But it was not an easy task which was set before us for accomplishment. Never had a salmon-fisher greater difficulty in playing and landing his fish than we experienced in drawing, stage by stage, the suspicious and uncertain chief from the Oxus to Kabul. I had first despatched as an emissary one Muhammad Sarwar Khan, who I believed to be in the Amir's confidence, and who subsequently rose to prominence as Governor of Herat. On his safe return with friendly though vague assurances, I sent two native officers of my own staff, Wazirzāda Muhammad Afzul Khan, who was afterwards appointed British Agent in Kabul, and Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, both men of the highest courage and devotion, who bore a letter in which the Amirship was offered to Abdur Rahman, without

other conditions than the necessary one of friendship with the British Government. This mission found Abdur Rahman at Khanabad, and was treated by him with hospitality and honour, though the officers were practically detained as prisoners in the camp, and were not allowed to converse with any of the Sirdar's followers.

The reply that they at last brought was generally satisfactory, and it was hoped that Abdur Rahman might arrive in Kabul early in June. But it was not till the middle of July, after many communications had been exchanged, and many vexatious delays had been experienced, that the Sirdar crossed the Hindu Khush by a difficult pass, and reached Charikar in Kohistan. During the whole of this time Northern Afghanistan had been in a most unsettled and critical condition. The advent of Abdur Rahman was regarded with alarm and dislike by a majority of the people, who had good reason to believe that he had a long memory for the enemies of his father and himself. The Sirdar himself had to play a double game. Believing that an open friendship with the English would cost him the support of his fanatical countrymen, he at the same time carried on friendly negotiations with us, and excited against us the religious and national feeling. So serious did the tension become, and so grave the danger of a popular rising, that it was imperative to end the difficulty by declaring publicly the policy of the Government, and, on the 22nd of July, in full Durbar at Kabul, in presence of all the important chiefs, I announced that the Viceroy and the Government of the Queen-Empress had been pleased to recognize Sirdar Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul. At this time he was still at Charikar, but, his confidence restored by his public recognition, he marched to Ak Serai, about twenty miles north of Kabul, near which it was arranged that I was to meet him and discuss the final arrangements to be made for his occupation of the capital, and hear all that he had to say regarding his hopes and prospects, and communicate to him the intentions and policy of the British Government.

It was at this critical moment that the defeat of Maiwand occurred, on the very day, indeed, the 27th of July, for which my first interview with the Amir had been arranged. Owing to his delay in marching to Ak Serai the meeting was unavoidably postponed, and when the news was received I was on the point of starting for Zimma, a small village two miles south of his camp, at Ak Serai, where tents for his reception had been pitched which we had sent out from Kabul, for the Amir in his march across the difficult Hindu Kush had brought nothing suitable for a ceremonial visit, and indeed, at this time, he and his followers possessed little beyond their clothes and arms. After a consultation with Sir Donald Stewart it was decided that no change should be made in our programme, but that I should inform the Amir of our reverses at Kandahar and engage his services and influence to secure the unopposed march of our relieving army, if possible arranging a meeting with him and the General Commanding-in-Chief in the camp of General Sir Charles Gough, whose brigade lay at Kila Haji, some seven miles south of the Amir's quarters.

About noon on the 30th of August, accompanied by my political staff, a few military officers, and a small escort, I started from Sherpur for Kila Haji. We crossed the Wazirabad Lake, then, after many months of drought, a mere marsh white with salt efflorescence, climbed the steep Pai Manár Pass, from which a splendid panoramic view of the country about Kabul is obtained, and then descending into the Kohistan plain, a pleasant gallop of ten or twelve miles over a level country broken with frequent water-courses, brought us to General Gough's camp, where we were hospitably entertained for the night. The following morning we were early in the saddle and started for Zimma, which was reported to be some five miles distant. Among the officers I took with me of my political staff were Major Hastings, an officer of great experience, whom I had placed in charge of the political work in the city and district of

Kabul ; Captain Ridgeway (now Sir West Ridgeway), who was on political duty with General Gough's brigade ; Mr. F. A. Cunningham, of the Civil Service, before referred to as accompanying the new mission ; Mr. James Christie, head of the secret service department, who gave me, throughout my residence in Kabul, invaluable assistance which I can never too warmly acknowledge, and who had made all the arrangements for the interview ; Mr. Walker, C.S., and Lieutenant J. Pears. With them was Sirdar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the youngest son of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, whom I had nominated as Governor of Kabul when the certain advent of Abdur Rahman made impossible the continuance of the existing Governor, Wali Muhammad Khan, whom he cordially detested. During the first interview with the Amir, Major Hastings and Messrs. Cunningham and Christie were the only officers present, but on the second day I allowed all those above named to attend.

The question of the amount of my escort had been carefully considered. It was necessary to take sufficient men to guard against treachery or sudden surprise, for it would have considerably embarrassed the Government had their envoy and his political staff met the fate of Sir William Macnaughten in 1841 ; while, on the other hand, it was not wise to make the escort so large as to proclaim the want of confidence which was undoubtedly felt on both sides. I had no suspicion of Abdur Rahman himself, but considerable distrust of his army, who were wild and undisciplined barbarians, suspicious of him and us, and whom he had the utmost difficulty in keeping in order. Had I not been able to satisfy their demands for arrears of pay, I do not believe they would have ever allowed their master to come to Kabul.

General Gough was anxious to furnish me with an infantry and cavalry guard and to occupy the road and passes leading to Zimma in force ; but this I begged might not be done, and was satisfied with a cavalry escort, amply sufficient for any emergency, under the command of Colonel

Mackenzie ; a squadron of the 9th Lancers under Major Legge, now commanding the regiment at Manchester ; and a squadron of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry and 3rd Punjab Cavalry. Infantry would have seriously embarrassed our movements had any *contretemps* occurred, or the Amir's troops attacked us, while the occupation of the passes in force would have alarmed both the Amir and his troops alike. Even as it was the Amir was terribly disturbed, as a relative in his confidence afterwards informed me, when we galloped up to the tents with so strong a cavalry guard. For a moment he thought that what his people had persistently urged on him was true, that the English were only entrapping him, and that the moment they had secured him under any pretences or promises, they would send him a prisoner to India. An Afghan is so false and treacherous himself, and will swear on the Koran to so many lies, that he finds it impossible to believe that any one else can speak the truth. To record an oath on the Koran is the most solemn pledge that a Muhammadan can give. Yet I have possessed Korans covered with the signatures of the leading nobles of Afghanistan vowing allegiance and obedience to three rival pretenders to the throne in turn.

The Durbar tent had been wisely pitched by Sirdar Yusuf Khan and Mr. Christie on the crest of a little hillock, which, to some degree, commanded the neighbouring country. It was a vast, dilapidated tent, which had belonged to Amir Sher Ali Khan and his son, and which had been annexed with other stores on the British occupation. It was, however, well suited to our purpose. A hundred yards down the hill was a small hill tent, surrounded with guards, in which the man with whom we had so long been negotiating, and on whose conduct and capacity the future of Afghanistan was to depend, awaited us with some reasonable anxiety. He had never yet seen an Englishman or British troops, and the gallant bearing and disciplined ranks of our escort, English and native, as they drew up before the reception tent, struck him much, for Abdur Rahman is

every inch a soldier. In Tashkend and Samarkand he was accustomed to disciplined Russian troops; but to match the 9th Lancers in Russia it is necessary to travel to St. Petersburg, while no Russian irregular cavalry regiments that I have ever seen are to be compared, horse and man, in size or style, with our Indian cavalry, who would, I am convinced, ride through and over double their own number of Cossack troops.

I sent a deputation of officers, Mr. Cunningham and Captain Ridgeway, with Raja Jahandal Khan and Afzul Khan, two of my native aides-de-camp, to the Amir's tent, to escort him up the hill. In a few moments he appeared, walking slowly and heavily, a large, Falstaffian, genial-looking man, with bright eyes and Jewish features, wearing the Astrakan fur cap which is usual among Afghans of rank, and a blue uniform coat with gold epaulettes, probably a present from one of his Russian friends at Tashkend. I went forward with the officers of my party a few steps from the door of the tent to meet our visitor, whom the steepness of the ascent had somewhat tried. He saluted in military fashion and shook hands with much cordiality, and we then, after I had presented all the English officers to him, took our places in the Durbar tent, the only Afghans beside the Amir present at the first interview being Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the Kabul Governor, a friend and cousin of the Amir, whom I had largely used in communicating with him in Kohistan, and the Chief of Kulab, a middle-aged man who was in the Amir's camp, half friend, half prisoner, and who, though permitted to be present at our interviews, was placed in a chair too distant to catch much of the conversation. He found it, moreover, prudent, where listening too closely might have cost him his head, to pretend to sleep, which he did for hours on both of our visits.

From the first moment that I saw the Amir I had taken a liking to him, and had formed a most favourable impression of his character. His face, somewhat coarse

and heavy in repose, lighted up when he smiled in a very winning fashion, and his eyes were full of fun and vivacity. His conversation showed him at once to be a man of much information and knowledge of men and the world, his estimate of the character of the persons regarding whom we conversed was reasonable and shrewd, while, through his whole bearing, there was clearly visible much natural good-humour and *bonhomie*. He evidently had a very high, perhaps exaggerated, opinion of his own ability and wisdom, and it was exceedingly difficult to make him change his opinion on any subject which he had considered at all closely. The subsequent career of Abdur Rahman has not induced me to alter materially the opinion I formed of him at our first interview. He has proved a stern, determined ruler, and a most cruel one if English prejudices and estimate of the value of human life be correct. But if the character of the Afghans, their ferocity, ignorance, fanaticism, and impatience of control be considered, it will be admitted that in no other manner could the Amir have maintained his position and brought order out of the most hopeless and discordant elements that ever existed in any country. I believed in him because personal acquaintance assured me of his strength of character; but the authorities at Simla hardly expected that we would succeed, and the Foreign Secretary wrote to me that he was fully prepared to see Abdur Rahman leave Afghanistan with our army. The vanity and pride of the man are phenomenal; but they may be excused in one whose success has amply justified his self-confidence. He has thoroughly understood the people he has to govern. He has not given Afghanistan a free press or national congresses, but has ruled his people, as he assured me they could alone be governed, with the stick. In this direction he has certainly shown extraordinary energy, and where Amir Sher Ali Khan beat his people with whips, Abdur Rahman has scourged them with scorpions.

The Amir was very frank on the subject of Russia. He

disclaimed utterly the idea of dependence on her, or that he was in any way deputed or instigated by Russian agents in his invasion of Turkistan. He spoke of his late hosts and gaolers at Tashkend and Samarkand with politeness, and acknowledged the liberality with which they had treated him and the largeness of the allowance they had made him, from which he said he had been able to save sufficient to pay a few hundred Turkoman cavalry and cross the Oxus, where he was joined by many of the disbanded troops of Amir Yakub Khan. Afghan Turkistan, Maimena, Balkh, and Kunduz have always been more favourable to that branch of the Barakzais represented by Abdur Rahman than to Sher Ali's branch, and this it was that caused the chief difficulty and delay in the march to Kabul, where the Amir knew that he would find himself among chiefs and people generally hostile to him, whom he could only overawe and subdue with English assistance.

I told the Amir very frankly of our defeat at Maiwand and its possible consequences, for concealment was worse than useless, and the active and instant co-operation of the Amir was needed to ensure both the unopposed march of Sir Frederick Roberts's force to Kandahar and the unmolested retreat of Sir Donald Stewart's army to Peshawar. It is true that both might have safely disregarded any possible opposition; and the Kandahar army was absolutely invincible by any Afghan force. But, at the same time, it would have had a most unfortunate effect upon our military and diplomatic reputation if the army which was to avenge our defeat and secure the position of our favoured candidate for the throne should be opposed on its relieving march; while it would ruin our prestige in India if our Northern army was to retire upon Peshawar, exposed throughout its march in the passes to the guerilla attacks which had broken down and destroyed our army in 1842. It was essential that Sir Frederick Roberts should advance through the heart of Afghanistan, absolutely unopposed, until he arrived in the neighbour-

hood of Sirdar Ayub Khan ; and it was still more imperatively necessary that Sir Donald Stewart, encumbered with sick and baggage, should march leisurely and with dignity from Kabul to Peshawar through a friendly country without a shot being fired. This was fortunately accomplished, and it is not generally known how difficult a feat it was, nor how much the happy result was due to the loyal and active service of Abdur Rahman, whose emissaries, exhorting the people to maintain peace and order, were sent in all directions, while I urged him to keep in his camp, under honourable surveillance, all those Ghilzai and Barakzai chiefs whom we suspected of hostile intentions.

The Amir did not conceal his fear of the inflammatory effect which the defeat of Maiwand would have on the fanatical Afghans when it became generally known ; and his requests for arms, ammunition and treasure were not at all extravagant when it is remembered that he came to Kabul, at our invitation, a penniless adventurer, and that he stood almost alone among enemies, with no men of high position or character to aid him in bearing the burthen of administration. He insisted that the Government should provide him with everything, as much in their interests as his own, and the illustrations with which he enriched his arguments were both witty and to the point. He urged that he had obtained great reputation in the world and the eyes of other princes by the fact of his selection by England, and that he was consequently most anxious to organize a stable administration of a character which would be worthy of the British Government and the opinion they had formed of him. Should he fail, owing to want of adequate support and sufficient arms and money, the reproach would be with our Government. I told the Amir that the Government were prepared to help him very largely, but the sum I named was objected to as insufficient, as indeed any sum whatever would be by an Oriental who saw a prospect of obtaining more by importunity.

I will give one illustration of his manner of argument.

“‘How,’ said the Amir, ‘can I do everything out of the Government grant? Think of the story of the man who went to a tailor with a roll of cloth and asked him to make him a morning suit. The tailor observed that his customer would also doubtless like a riding suit, to which the man assented; also one in which to appear at Durbar. And, continued the tailor, no doubt you would like clothes suitable for afternoon and evening wear? To all this the customer agreed, delighted at the prospect of receiving so many suits of clothes; but the roll of cloth was only sufficient for one man’s suit, and when the five suits reached the customer he found them too small to be worn by the smallest child. Now,’ said the Amir, ‘I seem to be like this fool who kept consenting to so many suits being made for him out of a piece of cloth only large enough for one. I agree to all your proposals and promise everything; but shall I have the means and power to carry them out?’ I replied, ‘The story your Highness has told is most apposite and ingenious, except that I object to the British Government being represented as the tailor; for we neither offer nor profess to make for you all the suits you may require. The Viceroy has indeed given you sufficient cloth to make one working every-day suit, and to obtain your dress clothes you will have to use the energy and ability with which we all credit you.’”

The conversation of the Amir was full of point, anecdote, and illustration, and I have rarely met any one, European or Asiatic, who was quicker to grasp the true issues of a question, or to see the weak points in an argument. On two successive days we had conversations of upwards of three hours’ duration, and on the last day, having requested all English and native officers to withdraw, he discussed privately with me his hopes and prospects, and such matters as he did not desire to become public. Throughout these long interviews I was, as were all the officers with me, much impressed with the individuality of the man—his strength, readiness of resource and courage—and we felt reassured and confident in the wisdom of the choice which had been made. Among all the effete, plausible, and treacherous Barakzais who swarmed in Kabul there was none like Abdur Rahman, who, with all his failings, was a true man, with manly qualities and virtues. No one could be long in his presence without realizing that he was a leader of men, by no hereditary right, but by his inherent force and intellect.

During these two interesting days no accident had happened, though we were well aware that volcanic fires were very near the surface, and that it would not take much to bring about an eruption. The goodwill and the good faith of the Amir were powerless, as I had already found in my prolonged negotiations, in the presence of the aroused fanaticism of the Afghans, who are never friendly to strangers and Kafirs, and now suspected our intentions towards their chief. After our first interview the Amir himself was reassured ; but his people were still nervously expecting us to carry him off. His army was waiting the result of the interviews immediately behind the hill on which our camp was pitched, and though comparatively few armed men were in sight, they would, like the warriors of Roderick Dhu, whom indeed these wild mountaineers very closely resembled, have sprung in thousands from the ground had a signal been given. Once or twice a gun fired in the Amir's camp seemed as if some such signal was intended ; and once a ragged *Durwesh* came up to the door of the tent and commenced abusing the infidels within, and appealing to the fanaticism of his countrymen. But the prophet soon met the due and traditional fate of prophets, being stoned by the sentries, and his attempt to excite a tumult failed. In order to allay suspicion and to demonstrate our good faith, all the native cavalry of the escort had been sent to some distance from the tent, and only the 9th Lancers remained persistently on guard, in the saddle ; and as there was no shade, and the August sun poured down in an uncompromising fashion, I have little doubt that they were very glad when the lengthy interviews ended.

On the second day all arrangements had been completed for the occupation of Kabul by the Amir and for our march to Peshawar and Kandahar, so far as their unmolested progress could be secured by the Amir, seconded by the efforts of influential men who were in accord with us, although opposed to Abdur Rahman, such as the high priest Mushki Alam and the well-known General Muhammad Jan.

I had been most anxious to arrange a meeting of the Amir with the General Commanding-in-Chief in Sir Charles Gough's camp at Kila Haji, and Abdur Rahman had expressed himself willing and anxious to attend ; but the invincible suspicion of his troops and the tribal chiefs made the interview impossible. On Saturday afternoon, the day of my first meeting with the Amir, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Frederick Roberts, and a large staff of officers had ridden out to camp for the Durbar on the following day ; but the Afghans were alarmed at the movement of guns and cavalry to Kila Haji, although only intended for ceremonial and saluting purposes, and throughout the night occupied in force the crest of the pass leading to Zimma, only withdrawing at daybreak. General Gough considered it necessary to respond with the occupation of the heights commanding the road I was to traverse the next morning, besides sending four companies of infantry to within a mile of our place of meeting—a precaution which, if necessary, was still sufficient to so alarm the Afghans, that they positively refused to allow the Amir to visit the British camp, and somewhat endangered the quiet conclusion of our negotiations. The Amir assured me that he was much disappointed at this failure to arrange a visit with General Stewart, but he was evidently afraid to oppose the wishes of his troops, and the Generals returned to Kabul, whither we followed them the next day.

The week that succeeded the Zimma conferences was a busy one. The spirits of the army were excellent. Although much annoyed and disappointed at the postponement of their ardently desired return to India, General Roberts' brigade prepared for the march to Kandahar with the cheerful eagerness which distinguishes fine troops called on for a distasteful duty, and the arrangements were speedily completed. On the 6th the force moved into camp, and on the 7th were well under way on their adventurous march ; while it was Sir Donald Stewart's intention, in order to allow the Kandahar brigade a fair start and to

hold in check any possible opposition, to remain some days in Kabul, and only retire from Sherpur when General Roberts should have passed into the Logar valley and all communication with us had ceased.

The night before the Kandahar column marched, the political officers gave a farewell dinner to Sir Frederick Roberts and his staff. There was present as large a number of officers as my small tents would accommodate, many of them then distinguished, many who have since won fresh laurels, and some of the bravest and the best dead, like true soldiers, in harness. Among them, not mentioning the political officers, who were the hosts, were Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., Sir Frederick Roberts, V.C., G.C.B., Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., G.C.B. (died in Burmah), Sir Hugh Gough, K.C.B., Sir Thomas Baker, K.C.B., Sir Charles MacGregor V.C., K.C.B. (died in Egypt), Col. Martin, C.B. (Central India Horse), Col. Brownlow, C.B., 92nd Highlanders (killed at Kandahar), and many others. As the occasion was historical, and my prophecy of the brilliant and successful march of General Roberts correct, I may be forgiven for rescuing from forgetfulness and placing on record the only speeches made on this memorable occasion, when the army destined to restore the shaken prestige of England was starting on its momentous mission.

After the health of the Queen-Empress had been drunk, I spoke as follows :

“SIR DONALD STEWART, SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS, AND GENTLEMEN,—
In Kabul, where speeches are few and where action takes the place of words, you will perhaps excuse me for proposing one toast to-night, and saying a few words which I wish to give utterance to, as they come from my heart. I wish to propose the success and speedy return with honour of Sir Frederick Roberts and the Kandahar army. I am afraid our hospitality has been rather on the Kabul scale ; but we have given you our last bottle of champagne, and the last drops of the wine cannot be better used than in drinking the health of so gallant a commander and so noble a force. May a glass of Mœt or Rœderer never again moisten my lips if, in my thoughts, I associate the Kandahar army with anything but success and honour. Gentlemen, I congratulate the force which is commanded by General Sir Frederick Roberts, the most dashing leader to-day serving Her Majesty the Queen, and than whom none is more justly

honoured and loved by the troops who serve under him. His first march to Kabul will be long remembered in history, and with it will be remembered the no less famous march of the Kandahar army. I would also congratulate General Roberts on the army which he commands. His generals are distinguished, capable, and experienced, and the regiments are the very pride and flower of the British army. With such officers and such an army, difficulties become success, and victory is assured. I do not underestimate the difficulties which the force will have to meet; but the interests at stake are imperial, and the eyes of England, India, and Europe will be upon you. In the decision at which the Government, in communication with Sir Donald Stewart, has arrived, and which I firmly believe to be as wise, politically, as it is bold from a military point of view, I see the best, if not the only, chance of the settled administration of Afghanistan, and the end of all this tangled net of complication which goes by the name of Afghan politics. The new Amir I believe to be sincerely attached to the English interest; and though his strength is not as great as his good-will, he will do all he can to further the advance of the army. It is with the utmost sorrow that we must all think of the reverse which has befallen us in Kandahar—a cloud which has come between us and the sun. But it is not a disaster. Imperial races have no disasters, and their vicissitudes of fortune are but a fresh stimulus to their energy and courage. Fortune has been most unkind in trying to overturn our arrangements when they seemed most complete. But the spirit with which the Kandahar army will take the field is that with which Ulysses and his companions went forth to seek other worlds:

“It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
 It may be we shall reach the happy Isles,
 And see the great Achilles whom we knew:
 Though much is taken much abides; and though
 We are not now that strength which in old days
 Moved earth and heaven—that which we are, we are,
 One equal temper of heroic minds,
 Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
 To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

Gentlemen, before I sit down, you will perhaps allow me to refer to a subject which is of a more personal nature. I wish on behalf of myself and of all political officers, who, I am sure, think with me, to express our cordial acknowledgment to Her Majesty's army in Afghanistan. I have heard, and I have only heard, that there are often between military and political officers jealousies which bring about a situation little different from an armed truce. I can only say for myself that from the very day I arrived at Kabul, I have received first from Sir Frederick Roberts, and later from Sir Donald Stewart, the most generous confidence and the kindest consideration. Our friendly relations are not a mere thin veneer, but are cordial and sincere, while from the officers of Her Majesty's army we have received the warmest friendship and brotherhood. We have a hundred friends in Kabul; and, I trust, not one enemy. I wish, then, to propose from my heart, and not merely from my lips, the health of Sir Frederick Roberts and the Kandahar army.”

Sir Frederick Roberts replied as follows :

“MR. GRIFFIN, SIR DONALD STEWART, AND GENTLEMEN,—I scarcely know how to thank you all for the kind way in which you have drunk my health, and that of the column under orders for Kandahar. To the very flattering terms in which Mr. Griffin has spoken of me, I should have considerable difficulty in replying, were it not that I can honestly say that any successes which I may have attained hitherto have been due entirely to the experienced commanders I have had with me, the most capable staff that ever accompanied a general officer in the field, and the gallantry and discipline of the troops under me. I do not think there ever have been, and I doubt if there ever will be, more efficient troops sent from India than those which General Stewart and I have had the honour to command for the last two years. With such troops success is a certainty. Without wishing to underrate the dangers and difficulties of the task before us, I feel quite confident that the efficient force which Sir Donald Stewart has placed at my disposal will succeed in reaching Kandahar as quickly as possible, and in effectually disposing of any Afghan army that may be brought against us. As Mr. Griffin has said, we must all deplore the cause which requires Kabul troops to be now sent to Kandahar. A few days ago we were all congratulating ourselves upon the prospect of a speedy return to India. Some of us had laid in a store of Nipal pepper for use at home ; others I have heard had actually named an early date for leaving Bombay for England ; Sir Donald Stewart is willing to guarantee—and were it not an indecorous thing for an officer so high in rank, would even bet—that we shall reach India again, *via* Kandahar, in November next. Gentlemen, this is a country of great uncertainties. We have been living in a state of uncertainty for many months ; but thanks to the political skill of our kind host, affairs have during the last few weeks progressed so rapidly and favourably that we have reason to hope the country may now have comparative rest and quiet, and that some settled form of government will be established. However, we must not be too sanguine : and I trust that our fellow-countrymen, who have not had the same opportunity that we have had of knowing Afghanistan and the Afghans, will not be disappointed if matters do not go altogether smoothly after the British troops leave Kabul. No Amir has ever yet occupied the throne for any time until he has proved himself capable of governing the country, and it is not likely that Amir Abdur Rahman will be an exception. We all know what difficulties Mr. Griffin has had to contend with, and we all rejoice at the great success which has attended his efforts—efforts so ably assisted by the political officers now with him. It now remains for Abdur Rahman to show that he is capable of filling the great position in which he has been placed. From the commencement of this campaign, the political officers have borne as important, if not as active, work as the soldier. First and foremost the gallant Cavagnari, known to and mourned by us all, and more than liked by many of us : with him many brave men fell, and it was to avenge their base and treacherous murder that this force came to Kabul. It is a great satisfaction to me to think that at present, at any rate, no officers will be required to remain at Kabul, and that all the political officers I see around me will return to India with the troops. But

I feel quite sure, if the decision had been otherwise, officers would have been found to accept the dangerous post, either officers of the civil service, or amongst those military politicals who have gained for themselves a reputation on the Frontier and other parts of India. Gentlemen, Mr. Griffin said there must be *one* toast to-night, but I trust he will be kind enough to allow me to propose another, and that you will all join me in drinking the health of the political officers at Kabul, coupled with the name of Mr. Lepel Griffin."

Four days after the march of General Roberts's column our third and last meeting with the Amir took place. During the ten days which had elapsed since I left Zimma constant communications had been held with him, and he had used the time wisely in receiving the tribal chiefs, consolidating his party, paying his troops with our assistance, and making arrangements to facilitate the march of the two armies on Kandahar and Peshawar. Most of the formidable Ghilzai and Kohistan chiefs were in the Amir's camp. Mushki Alam, the head of the religious and fanatical party, had become friendly, and his son accompanied Sir Frederick Roberts's force; our old enemy, General Muhammad Jan, now reconciled, was ill with carbuncle, and I had sent him my last bottle of port wine to keep up his strength. He was too powerful and had been too successful to please Abdur Rahman, who imprisoned him not long afterwards in the Bala Hissar Fortress, where he perished in the usual manner. He was a brave man and an able commander. I had vainly endeavoured to persuade him to visit the Amir and promise allegiance. A grant of twenty lakhs of rupees had been promised to Abdur Rahman, of which one lakh was at once paid for his immediate expenses, five were given the day we left Kabul, and the remainder was to be paid at Jallalabad and Peshawar. The fortifications which British engineers had erected with much skill on the Sher Darwaza, Asmai, and Siah Sang heights commanding the capital, and which it had been determined to destroy on our evacuation, were, after much consideration, left to the Amir. It was felt that, although the chance of our having, at some future day, to recapture

our own fortifications could not be altogether overlooked, it was better to thoroughly trust the man whom the Government had selected as ruler, and that his power and prestige would be seriously and perhaps fatally impaired if we proclaimed our want of confidence in his loyalty or stability by blowing up, on our retirement, the fortifications which might be essential to his safety if attacked at Kabul by his numerous enemies. We also left him a large number of field and siege guns. Small arms there were none to spare of any value, but Abdur Rahman received these later from India.

It was only on the evening preceding the march of the army from Kabul that the Amir consented to come to Sherpur to be introduced to the general commanding. I had been very anxious to bring about this visit; for although all business arrangements had been concluded, it was a due and dignified termination to our occupation, and it was important that Sir Donald Stewart should see the style and manner of the new ruler of Afghanistan. The Amir had marched on the 10th of September to the village of Deh Gopak, immediately adjacent to Sherpur, though hidden from it by a low range of hills, and on the morning of the 11th, at seven o'clock, he came to Sherpur, where my tents, which I left him as a parting present, had been pitched about two hundred yards from the walls. The army had already marched some hours, and the Sherpur cantonment, so long the residence of a large force, was deserted except by Sir Donald Stewart and his Brigadiers, Sir J. Hills, K.C.B., Generals G. C. Gough, Palliser, Daunt, and Hughes, with political officers and officers of the head-quarter staff and an escort of Guide cavalry. It was a weary, and somewhat an anxious, wait; for I was uncertain whether, at the last moment, the fears of the Amir or his followers would not prevent the promised visit, and it was with a feeling of great relief that I saw the banners of his advanced guard and a long line of his troops streaming over the neighbouring hill. The greater part of his

escort was left at some distance from the tent, and the Amir, with Sirdar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and only a few followers, rode up, and was received on alighting from his horse by Sir Donald and myself and conducted to his seat. He was in the best of tempers, and his former nervousness had disappeared. The officers present, military and political, were introduced to him, and he acknowledged with politeness their salutes. He conversed pleasantly on ordinary subjects, and expressed his satisfaction at once again seeing Kabul. He then made a little speech, which had about it the ring of sincerity, to the effect that the British Government had distinguished and honoured him with its confidence and favours, and that his gratitude was great and would be lasting, and that his sword would ever be at the disposal of the Viceroy, to whom he desired his compliments and thanks to be conveyed. We then rose, and the Amir accompanied us to the door of the tent and said polite words of farewell as we mounted our horses and rode away, with glad hearts, from the city of Kabul, which no Englishman or Indian in the army which had so long wearily encompassed it desired ever to see again. Our road did not lead us close under the walls, but we were near enough to see that they were deserted, and no groups of citizens or soldiers lined the road to see the last of the invading and avenging army. Abdur Rahman, fearing a possible collision with the English soldiers, had wisely ordered the townspeople to keep at home. Our departure from Kabul was thus without sign of joy or sorrow from the people, many of whom doubtless would have been delighted had the British annexed the country and remained as masters. During our occupation the people had grown rich, and millions of treasure had found their way into the coffers of these frugal mountaineers. They had been well and fairly dealt with: justice was meted out to all offenders alike, whether Afghans or conquerors; their women had been unmolested, their property had been secure, and their religious sentiments and prejudices had been always respected. As a

civilian accustomed to administer the law, and expecting to find in a conquering army some license and excusable violence, I affirm that no invaders in historical times have so honourable and stainless a record as the British army in Afghanistan. Violence against the people of the country, men or women, person or property, was practically unknown; while an almost Quixotic generosity led the Commissariat and Transport to pay for all necessary supplies at rates far above the market price. Although such extravagance is not to be commended, there is no doubt that the Afghan nation has been permanently impressed by our generous treatment, and that, should fortune take our armies again into Afghanistan, we should not have to encounter the same suspicion and opposition as at the commencement of our last campaign.

The Amir loyally kept his word during our retirement. The tribal chiefs were retained under surveillance in Kabul, and General Roberts's memorable march to Kandahar and that of General Stewart to Peshawar were accomplished without a hostile shot being fired.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

P.S.—While this article has been passing through the press, further news regarding the revolt of Sirdar Ishak Khan has been received from St. Petersburg, dated the 6th of September, through the *Novoe Vremya*, which affirms that the whole of Northern Afghanistan has abjured its allegiance to Abdur Rahman, and has declared for Ishak Khan, who has proclaimed himself Amir. It is added that a conflict has occurred between the insurgents and Abdur Rahman's forces of an indecisive nature, though the details are as yet unknown. The *Novoe Vremya*, according to Reuter, in commenting on the report, points out that Ishak Khan, with his uncle (though this is a mistake for his cousin), dwelt for some time at Tashkend, and expresses the belief that a civil war in Afghanistan may complicate the Amir's relations with neighbouring States, especially if not promptly

suppressed by Abdur Rahman, which the Russian journal considers more than doubtful. The opportunity, as may be supposed, is not lost to point out that the division of Afghanistan between England and Russia might now be carried out with advantage, the former taking Kabul and Kandahar, and the latter Turkistan and Herat.

I do not think that the news thus positively announced is worth much consideration. Russian newspapers, which draw their inspiration from the Government offices, are accustomed to print whatever suits those in authority, and manufacture the news which may assist to form public opinion or direct events in a desired course. No doubt the rebellion of Ishak Khan would be desired and welcomed by Russia, as it has probably been instigated by her. Of its success I have before expressed my disbelief. I have never had any reason to think Ishak Khan a man of much energy or ability, and he certainly in these respects is far inferior to his cousin Abdur Rahman, who, with the support of the Indian Government, should be quite able to hold his own and put down any opposition. If he is not able to do this, and he sometimes has strange fits of apathy and vacillation, he is a far less valuable ally than we have been accustomed to consider him. There is, however, ample grounds for reasonable confidence in the stability of the Amir's Government, and the division of his territories proposed by the Russian press is premature. Seeing that Russia has disclaimed all pretence of interference in Afghanistan, which she has officially declared outside the range of her influence, the suggestion that she should take Turkistan and Herat, leaving the western provinces to England, is somewhat frank if not audacious, and reminds men whose memories are not as short as are those of some distinguished statesmen, of the broken promises which have accompanied the Russian advance from the Caspian to Merv. It is possible, and I have often acknowledged the possibility, that circumstances which we have been unable to control may compel us to divide Afghanistan with

Russia. The life of Amir Abdur Rahman is never a good one. He is a severe sufferer from gout and its attendant ailments : he is always exposed to the risk of assassination from his numerous enemies and rivals, and from men who have a blood feud with him on account of his unjust slaughter of their relations. His successor, if his son, may be feeble and worthless : if either of his cousins, Sirdar Ayub Khan or Ishak Khan, may be hostile, in which case we should have to expel him as we did Sher Ali Khan for the same offence. But we could never allow Russia, as the *Novoe Vremya* suggests, to calmly annex the northern and western provinces without territorial arrangements elsewhere to our advantage. It may be possible to come to some agreement with Russia by which both should gain equally ; but there is no occasion to discuss this at the present time, while Abdur Rahman lives and governs. We are bound by every consideration of prudence and honour to support him so long as he loyally carries out in his foreign relations the directions of the British Government. When he leaves the scene we shall have to re-survey the ground and make such arrangements as may best serve our own interests. These are not likely, if our statesmen are honest and sensible, to include an invitation to Russia to occupy Afghan provinces, unless at a cost elsewhere which she may not care to pay. The time may be near when these questions will have to be considered, and it is never well to be unprepared to act as inconvenient hypotheses ripen. At any rate, our policy of to-day is clear, namely, to support cordially our friend and ally Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and continue the important and necessary work of strengthening our defences and completing our communications on the North-West Frontier.—L. G.

September 11, 1888.

EFFECTS OF CIVILIZATION ON THE BURMESE.

THE Burmese are probably the gayest and most light-hearted people in the world ; their neighbours the dullest and least impressionable. Blessed with a happy temperament, a contented disposition, and jocund spirits which make light of the inevitable ills to which mankind is liable, they defy dull care. The latter, on the contrary, prone to morose discontent, and often a prey to melancholy, speedily succumb to the frowns of Fortune. Partly owing to their natural temperament, and partly to the influence of their literature, fundamentally of Hindu origin, they are somewhat proud, arrogant, and conceited—a weakness from which the others are exempt. Their religious writings, moreover, impress on their minds the fact that they, as Budhists, are infinitely superior to all other races who have not been baptized in this faith, and are therefore outside the pale of salvation. Their national history teaches them—indeed their very name implies—that they are lineal descendants of the celestial beings called Brahmas, who were tempted to visit this earth from the seventh heaven, but who, overcome by the allurements of “sin, the world, and the devil,” were unable to return to their former abodes. These annals are further replete with records of events very flattering to their pride, which their *poays* or plays continually recall to memory. No wonder, then, they have an exceedingly good opinion of themselves. Nevertheless, they possess a manly independence of character, combined with *bonhomie* very refreshing to those accustomed to Oriental obsequiousness or stolid reserve. Though they have many faults, and are full of

eccentricities and contradictions, they have also many admirable qualities ; so that Englishmen thrown into daily contact with them, entertain for them, and inspire them in return with, a kindly feeling which seems impossible in the case of the neighbouring races. At one time, apparently, they were as uncouth, boorish, and truculent as any of the surrounding tribes. But by various influences, which will be dealt with hereafter, they had already attained a fairly high degree of civilization, and not a little culture, when first encountered by Europeans.

From Sir Arthur Phayre * we learn that "the Burmese, many years ago, were formed into a nation by the union of Mongoloid tribes, who then occupied the land which is still the home of their race." This union, he goes on to say, "was accomplished very gradually under the influence of Aryan immigrants chiefly, if we may trust the national traditions, Kshatriyas from Gangetic India, who introduced the softening influences of Buddhism, and probably the simple handicrafts of weaving, the acquirement of which is, next to agriculture, of the greatest importance to a rude people." Professor Max Müller, by the evidence of language alone, classifies them under the head of a Lohitic subdivision of the Bhotia family, now known as Tibeto Burman. Sir Arthur Phayre, Mr. Bryan Hodgson, and other authorities, judging both by physical characteristics and affinities of language, concur with the professor, and further tell us that the Singphos on the north of Burma, and the equally uncivilized tribes on the Arakan and Manipur frontiers, are their true kinsmen. They classify them among the numerous races which, at a remote period, left their ancient habitat beyond the snowy range, passed through some of "the hundred gates of the Himalaya" and after having sojourned for a while in the country now known as Asam, arrived in due course at the upper basin of the Irawadi. The Burmese indignantly repudiate this kinship, and quote the *Maha Rajah Weng*,

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

or national history, to prove that the Kshatriyas referred to by Sir Arthur Phayre, who accompanied an army led across the frontier by a prince named Abhi Rajah, were their progenitors. This prince, they declare, formed Hindu settlements in the region indicated above, and built the city of Tagoung, which Colonel Yule says may be identified with the Tugma metropolis of Ptolemy. The existing ruins of this city certainly give support to the general truth of their tradition, as Buddhist images, bricks stamped with the image of Budha, and Pali inscriptions in the ancient Devanagiri character, have been found therein.

Professor Lassen, whose authority in matters connected with this region is undoubted, sides with the Burmese view, for he accepts "as probably true that at a time which cannot precisely be determined, a prince from Inner India, who had been expelled from his kingdom, passed over the border which separates India from Farther India, with his forces, and there founded a dominion, and in favour of the credibility of the story we have the concordance of the geographical information with the existing localities." * Colonel Yule, on the other hand, considers that the Burmese legend "is manifestly of equal value, and like invention to that which deduced the Romans from the emigration of the pious Æneas, the ancient Britons from Brut the Trojan, and the Gael from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh." † There is no ethnic proof at present of Hindu settlements having existed in the upper valley of the Irawadi, probably because the Aryans were physically weaker and comparatively fewer than the indigenous inhabitants, and thus lost their identity in the course of three or four generations. The same may be said of the Dravidian immigrants, who long played a very important part in the maritime provinces of Burma. "It is interesting," as Sir Arthur Phayre says, "to compare the difference of method, and to some extent of result, in the two

* "*Indische Alterthumskunde.*"

† Yule's "*Mission to the Court of Ava.*" London, 1858.

instances of Mongoloid tribes in the north and south of the basin of the Irawadi, who received their civilization from Indians of different races. In the north the tribes were civilized by Aryans; in the south by Dravidians. In the former case, a ruler came with followers to establish a dominion; the aborigines were subjected, and a name for the united tribes was adopted, which included the conquerors, and in time became permanent and national. In the south the original settlers were traders. Though they probably came to the coast with no other object, yet gradually they converted and civilized the savage tribes around them. . . . In the north, though the Aryans have left permanent marks of their early influence, the physical difficulties of the intervening country prevented continuous communication between the two regions. With Southern India and Pegu, constant intercourse was maintained by sea. By this route the Buddhist scriptures were brought to Pegu, and thence reached Burma; and the alphabet now used by the Burmese people shows the same influence." * Though the scientists have probably arrived at sound conclusions regarding the origin of the Burmese, they fail to satisfy non-scientific observers acquainted with the border tribes and the people who ought to claim cousinship with them, but, as already explained, will not. The Burmese, some centuries ago, were doubtless in a state of barbarism; but they have now achieved a unique position in the civilization of Farther India. The aim of the present writer is to endeavour to interest his readers by furnishing a few particulars regarding the chief influences, more or less subtle, as well as more or less tangible, which have contributed to this result.

Ethnical influences may appropriately be considered first. The Mongoloid tribes, by whose amalgamation the Burmese were formed into a nation, differed materially in one respect from their reputed congeners, who are essen-

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

tially highlanders ; for they had already become dwellers in the plains, and consequently far more amenable to the teachings of a higher civilization brought to bear on them by Indian immigrants than they otherwise would have been. The savage and chronically turbulent border tribes were then probably very much the same as we now find them ; the Burmese a little more civilized. The latter have since changed so much that it seems ridiculous to speak of both as belonging to the same race. For the Burmese reside in settled communities, thoroughly at peace with one another ; whereas the others hide in secluded villages, in a perpetual state of warfare, and are distinguished for *vendettas* of such long standing that the original cause of offence has been forgotten. The typical mountain Mongoloid is very matter-of-fact, and absolutely devoid of humour ; the Burman, on the contrary, has a keen sense of the ridiculous. The former rarely exhibits feelings of surprise, joy, gratitude, or admiration. Nor is he endowed with a feeling for art like the latter, who decorates his carts, boats, agricultural implements, articles for domestic use, rest-houses for travellers, monasteries, and other religious buildings, &c., with bold and elaborate carving, unique of its kind. The difference between the Malay and the Papuan as described by Mr. Wallace, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to the people we are comparing. "The Malay," he says, "is bashful, cold, undemonstrative, and quiet : the Papuan is bold, impetuous, excitable, and noisy : the former is grave, and seldom laughs ; the latter is joyous and laughter-loving ; the one conceals his emotions, the other displays them." * These mountaineers, in common with other border tribes, were subject to the most harsh and unsympathetic treatment at the hands of the late *régime* ; while their fellow Burmese subjects, actuated by feelings of contemptuous dislike, were only too willing to accept the cue given them by their rulers. They treated with disdain the notion of having any

* "Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London," vol. iii.

social relations with a people whom they considered little better than brutes, and naturally had little intercourse with them. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that for a very long period they have not been indebted to these tribes, nor to other branches of the parent stock, for any infusion of new blood. Hence we must seek elsewhere for the ethnical influences which have made them physically different to their Turanian brethren. We must also do this in the cases of the Aryans and Dravidians, as well as various alien races who have contracted union with them, but who, when compared with the total population, are an insignificant factor in the problem. It is unnecessary to revert to prehistoric times, or even to go far afield, when its solution is patent to all who have compared the Burmese with the various peoples who have intercourse with them. "The face of the Burman," as Dr. Mason remarked, "has his Tartar genealogy stamped upon it in characters that cannot be mistaken." The least observant, however, cannot fail to notice the predominating infusion of Chinese and Shan blood with the Tibeto Mongoloid, especially in Upper Burma, where the people are much fairer than they are farther south. The Chinese, who have for centuries been influencing the Burmese in many ways, have been gradually gravitating towards the Irawadi valley; and as the more energetic and intelligent will—as the present writer has explained in other papers*—sooner or later absorb the Burmese, though they may for a time be checked by the predominance of Western civilization.

It has already been shown that Aryan † settlers who

* See articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1886, and February, 1887.

† This race is styled Aryan, according to the theory propounded many years ago by Max Müller and others, making the highlands of Central Asia the cradle of the Aryans, on the assumption that the Sanskrit comes the nearest to the primitive Aryan speech. A recent school of experts is convinced, however, that we must look to Northern Europe for the origin of the Aryan race, believing that Lithuanian, a Baltic language, has even greater affinities with the Archaic Aryan.

reached Burma overland, caught the Mongoloid tribes on the bound, after they had emerged from barbarism, and gave them an impetus towards a higher civilization. Dravidian settlers who arrived by sea triumphed in like manner, in spite of having to deal with a people of such savage habits that they were only known to the outer world as *Bhilu*, or ogres. But the crowning glory is rightly awardable to other Aryan visitors, who also came by sea, for they gave them religion, a written language, and literature.

Before entering into details regarding these achievements, it may be as well to refer briefly to the indigenous inhabitants, as well as to the settlers on the seaboard, to enable the reader to understand and fully appreciate what the Aryans have succeeded in accomplishing. According to local tradition, Indian colonists from the coast of Coromandel had, at a remote period, formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and adjoining provinces. In Buddhist legends the country they occupied became known as *Suverna Bhumi*, or Golden Land. The first settlement was effected by two Indian princes, whose chief mission, according to the wildest part of the legend, was to bring up a child, born of a dragon, who was destined to found a city to be called *Thahtun*. This city, whose ruins are still to be seen, was formerly a great seaport, and possibly may have been visited by the navies of kings Solomon and Hiram when they came to this region in search of materials for building the temple. Within comparatively recent times it existed in great prosperity, as it is certain that so late as the sixth century A.D. ships visited the port from Ceylon and Coromandel. The whole of the neighbouring country having silted up in a marvellously short space of time, *Thahtun*, which was utterly destroyed by the King of Burma in the eleventh century, is now twelve miles from the sea, and, of course, cut off from all maritime intercourse. It was the capital of a territory identical with the ancient kingdom of the *Môns*, or *Talaings*,

which we rather arbitrarily call Pegu. The Mòns are considered by some authorities to be the aborigines of the country, on the assumption that their language bears no affinity to the Chinese or any of the Indo-Chinese dialects, nor is cognate with any of the cultivated tongues of India; while Sir Arthur Phayre apparently is of opinion that they are of Indian origin, and should be classed with the Kols and other aboriginal tribes whose habitat is in India. The Mòns themselves side with the former, and, strange to say, are the only people in Burma who have no tradition of having come from some other country. In manners and customs, as Captain Forbes very truly remarks, "they have now become so assimilated by centuries of close mutual connection (with the Burmese) as well as by the identity of religion . . . that to describe one people is to describe both." * All the other races declare they came from the North, or "the seat of the solar and lunar races, the scene of chivalrous adventures, and the abode of all those who were celebrated in the legends, the mythology, and the philosophy of the Hindus." †

The Burmese proper of the upper Irawadi, separated for centuries from kindred tribes to the south of them, only came to know the Mòns long after they had among them settlements of Telingas from the Coromandel coast; and with a perversity for altering names only equalled by the British, they dubbed the former Talaing—their equivalent for the temporary residents—a name which has stuck to them ever since. For what the Burmese and Mòns know of commerce, they are indebted, in a great measure, to the *bonâ-fide* Talaing or Telingas. It is true that the real commercial instinct has not as yet been given them; but they are great dabblers in small ventures. This at any rate is an advance on their former system of barter. The Telingas influenced the people for good in many other ways, and some particulars regarding them ought not to be

* Forbes, "Burma." London, 1878.

† Marshman's "History of India."

out of place. They cannot be introduced more appropriately than by quoting what Marco Polo says of them and their country. Referring to Maabar, which corresponds to the Coromandel coast or the mother-country of the Telingas, he remarks: "It is styled INDIA THE GREATER; it is the best of all the Indies." Of the people he gives the following quaint description: "You must know that in this Province of Maabar there is never a tailor to cut a coat nor to stitch it, seeing that every one goes naked! For decency only will they wear a scrap of cloth; and so it is with men and women, with rich and poor; aye, and with the king himself, except what I am going to mention." * There is now no lack of tailors in the country to supply the wants of the people, the majority of whom have adopted decent clothing. The great traveller's account is still applicable to the minority, consisting of catamaran men and masoolah boat-rowers, who are the first people one encounters on the surf-bound coast of Maabar or Coromandel. The Telingas, bold and adventurous mariners in bygone days, still uphold their prestige. They visit Rangoon, and other great ports which have superseded Thahtun, in probably greater numbers than of yore; for, thanks to the arrangements made by the British Government, the perils of the sea in the shape of piracy, and the risks which used to attend ships visiting the Nicobar and Andaman islands—whose inhabitants long possessed an unpleasant notoriety of murdering their visitors—need no longer be encountered.

Burmese history, whether we take what Western people would deem the purely mythical, the prehistoric, or the legendary periods, is essentially Hindu. Even their comparatively modern history unmistakably betrays the original Hindu influence. This is specially the case where historiographers give the rein to fervid imagination, and embellish their exceedingly dry record of facts with highly

* Yule's "Marco Polo." London, 1871.

coloured results. Like the Holy Bible, their *Maha Rajah Weng*, or national history, has its Genesis, and gives a description of the creation of the world, and of its first inhabitants. It also records what happened after that great event, in the minutest detail. The Burmese consider it infallible. It would indeed be a very valuable record if the Burmese estimate could be corroborated. Unfortunately, however, its verification is impossible, as there is no other history extant, old enough to confirm or repudiate its statements. It affects, for instance, to trace the ancestors of the deposed King Theebaw, in regular sequence, to Maha Thamadâ, the first emperor of the world, and even ventures to include Gaudama Budha in the royal line. In spite of being disfigured with many similar blemishes, calculated to overstrain the credulity of the most indulgent reader, the *Maha Rajah Weng* has earned high encomiums from very competent judges.

Sir Arthur Phayre says: "The general fulness of the national historical records of the countries which comprised the Burmese empire is remarkable. They present a marked contrast to the scantiness or total absence of such writings among the ancient Hindu kingdoms." * Colonel Burney, who long held the post of Resident at the Court of Ava, came to the conclusion that they bear strong internal marks of authenticity. Professor Lassen confirms these views, and states that they "deserve on the whole the praise of credibility, as their authors relate not only the favourable events of their history, but also the unfavourable." † Shway Yoe, on the other hand, accepts them in the light of fairy tales, declaring that "no defects are recorded in those courtly pages; reverses are charmed into acts of clemency; armies vast as those that people dreamland march through its chapters; its heroes are of the old ballad type; its treasures such as might have been the

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

† "Indische Alterthumskunde."

produce of Aladdin's lamp." * These differences of opinion are easily reconciled; for it is evident that the favourable commentators did not even condescend to notice their puerile eccentricities; while the hostile critic fastened on them, and ignored really trustworthy information. It is unfortunate that the great standard work of the country should be tarnished by the absurd interpolations of persons bound to flatter the Court circle to which they were attached, and thus be furnished with an excuse for going beyond the record. Possibly, however, they were constrained by a laudable desire to make it more interesting and acceptable to the general reader: just as the playwrights, who, following their example, unblushingly plagiarize from the works of Indian authors, but, recognizing the extreme dulness of the borrowed literature, improvise situations suitable to Burmese taste, and indicate where "gag" may be introduced with effect. Burma has not yet produced a Macaulay or a Thiers to make history more interesting than fiction; and so we must accept with indulgence the Court historiographer's efforts to enliven what would otherwise be an exceedingly prosaic record. Their flights of fancy, it is true, might seriously invalidate the trustworthiness of the national annals, were they not, very fortunately, counterbalanced by *thamaings*, or histories found in the principal monasteries, which, while recording particulars regarding their founders and other benefactors to their inmates, also include notices of secular events. These are well supplemented by inscriptions on stone slabs, and on bells cast for religious purposes, and suspended within the precincts of the pagodas. Although one naturally resents the notion of pranks being played with history, the student's regard for truth must indeed be keen if he can read the *Maha Rajah Weng* with interest shorn of the compiler's embellishments.

Though there is no necessity for giving even a brief out-

* "The Burman," by Shway Yoe. London, 1882.

line of these annals, it is interesting to note the frequency with which the capital of the country was changed, as on these incidents much more was involved than meets the eye in the record. Many of the Burmese kings, swayed by gross superstition, were at the mercy of Hindu astrologers, who recklessly counselled them to alter the sites of the royal cities, by interpreting natural phenomena and trivial incidents in proof of its necessity. Thus in several instances the appearance of wild beasts within the environs of the capital was declared to be tantamount to its speedy destruction; while on one occasion the alighting of a vulture on the palace spire was held to forebode dire misfortune to the king unless he planted the royal residence elsewhere. Ava, by reason of foolish counsels of this kind, became the capital no less than four times; Amrapura twice; and as often were they allowed to lapse into deserts. Changing the site of a capital meant the total demolition of the abandoned city; but neither this nor its reconstruction was, after all, so serious a matter as it might appear at first sight. Masonry buildings are the exception in Burmese royal cities. Even the king's palaces were made of wood, while a few of the citizens' dwellings were of the same material, and the rest of bamboos and thatch. When the royal order came for removal, all that the people had to do was to mark the component parts of their habitations, and set them up again in the fresh sites allotted them. The springing up of a new capital might therefore be compared to mushroom growth. Though the actual changing was thus a comparatively simple matter, the inevitable concomitants were well-nigh appalling, inasmuch as they consisted in the burying alive at the city gates and in the palace environs of a certain number of human beings, under the impression that the ghosts of the victims hovered near the sites of their sepulture, and kept watch and ward against people entering with evil intent. It was well known in Burma that such immolations occurred when the city of Mandalay was founded. On this occasion,

says Shway Yoe, "fifty-two persons of both sexes, of various ages and rank, were consigned to a living tomb." * He was of opinion that this terrible catastrophe was due to the advice tendered by the Brahmin astrologers already referred to, especially as its necessity chimed in with the popular superstition regarding the propriety of propitiating *Nats*, or demons, in order to counteract misfortune. It would be as fair, however, to saddle the people with even so much responsibility, as it would be to fasten on them the onus of the massacres which took place when a scion of the house of Aloungpra (Alompra) ascended the throne. It is true that they cling somewhat to the demonology practised by their Tartar ancestors; but this particular phase of it they are content to relegate to their superiors, disposing of it as "royal custom," in which the laity have no right to interfere. Some say the Burmese borrowed the idea of human sacrifices from the Chinese, among whom the practice has been prevalent from times immemorial; but there seem to be no valid grounds for adding to the responsibilities of the Celestials, by charging them with the demoralization of their neighbours. Others declare that it originated with the Chaldeans, from whom it passed to other Eastern nations. The superstition has further been prevalent among many Western peoples, the English not excepted. In fact our ceremony of burying coins under foundation-stones, graciously accepted as a duty by royal personages, and esteemed an honour by people of the highest rank, is, after all, probably only the lingering on, in a feeble, eviscerated form, of the old sacrifice. Money is now substituted for a living animal, as was the latter for a human being.† As the proof therefore of any external influence having operated on the Burmese is not forthcoming, the blame for the awful custom which has existed among them within the present

* "The Burman," by Shway Yoe. London, 1882.

† See paper entitled "Kirks Grimms" in February number of *Cornhill Magazine*.

generation, can only be attributed to the innate natural depravity which they share with unregenerate mankind.

The Burmese endeavour to serve God and Mammon. They apparently consider it necessary to their happiness to possess two religions—the imported and the indigenous ; one for high days and holy days, to further their spiritual welfare ; the other for every-day use to promote their worldly interests. Though Buddhism, the imported faith, is purer in Burma than in any other Buddhist country, and harmoniously binds together the civil, religious, and social life of the people, it is in some instances merely a veneering on geniolatry, their ancient cult. Many still regard the spirit world with an awe not countenanced by the Buddhist creed ; but as this venerable religion, while it denounces the superstition, does not afford them any help out of their dilemma, as professed Buddhists they deem it highly judicious as well as expedient to be on good terms with both the good and evil genii, so as to make things go smoothly in this life. From authentic Buddhist records we learn that India at a very early period took a keen and very sympathetic interest in the spiritual condition of the ancestors of the Burmese. In the third century B.C., or when the third Buddhist synod was held at Paliputra, and missions were sent to foreign countries to propagate religion and extirpate heresy, Sono and Uttaro were deputed to Suverna Bhumi, or the region now known as Pegu, to introduce Buddhism. They were at first violently opposed by the natives, but subsequently succeeded in converting them. After the missionaries left the country or died, Buddhism declined, but its humanizing influences worked for the good of the people ; for when other missionaries visited the descendants of the first converts, long afterwards, they received the word with joy. They were not in possession of the *Pitika* or Buddhist scriptures till early in the fifth century, when Buddaghosa, the great apostle of Farther India, second only in fame to Budha himself, brought Pali copies of them from Ceylon to Thahtun. He is also credited with giving

the people an alphabet, and teaching them to read and write, in order that they might take hold of the scriptures more readily. The cognate tribes of the upper basin of the Irawadi did not secure these inestimable privileges till very long afterwards—apparently not till the eleventh century when King Anorahta, famous for his enterprise in the cause of religion, took from Thahtun to Pugân in Burma proper, a number of priests and teachers, versed in the sacred books, to convert the people. From its first introduction Buddhism favoured the general extension of education, and appealed to the masses through the vernacular tongues; and thus, in spite of its tenets as to the worthlessness of worldly objects and the inherent misery of being, induced a general interest in the affairs of life.* By no outward and visible sign do the Burmese more prove their faith in the teachings of Budha, than in their devotion to their priests or monks, whom they consider living exemplars of their Great Master, and as such reverentially term *Phônggyee*, or “Great Glory.” The *phônggyees*, when ordained, vow in the words of the English Church Catechism “to renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and the sinful desires of the flesh,” as well as to keep their bodies “in temperance, soberness, and chastity.” They, as a body, act consistently with these professions, and are deeply revered accordingly. By a harmless fiction, they are supposed to be mendicants; but, they are mendicants only in so far as mendicity implies poverty. The *Thathanabein*, or Archbishop of Mandalay, and the humblest *phônggyee* of an obscure village, as regards disposable worldly possessions, are in fact on a par. By the rules of their order, the *phônggyees* are allowed to have only enough food for their bodily wants, raiment sufficient to cover their nakedness, and shelter from the heat of the sun or the inclemency of the weather. Their supporters or disciples, however, interpret these conditions very liberally.

* Phayre’s “History of Burma.” London, 1883.

In the first two their generosity is naturally circumscribed ; in the last it has full scope. The pious, therefore, gladly avail themselves of the opportunity for acquiring religious merit in a manner approved by the Lord Budha himself. The first monks probably lived in huts or under the shade of trees—like the Indian jogis or hermits ; but it was never the intention of the Great Master that members of the Buddhist order should take example from these selfish and useless ascetics, in living far from, and depriving themselves of the satisfaction of doing good to, their fellow-creatures. Consequently, very early in his teaching, the laity were encouraged to build commodious dwellings for himself and his disciples. They responded to the Master's suggestion with the utmost enthusiasm. The Burmese have worthily followed suit. The laity, in short, do all in their power to make the members of the yellow-robed fraternity comfortable, happy, and contented. It may well then be asked "What do the *phônggyees* do in return for all the attention bestowed on them ?" In reply it can be said that they are assiduous in the duty of teaching the principles of religion to the young, as well as imparting to them a rudimentary education in reading, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes geography, according to their cosmogony. Custom and religion demand that every boy, whether poor or rich, gentle or simple, shall attend the monastery schools. Compulsory education, it will be seen, is accordingly in full force ; and thanks to the *phônggyees*, the Burmese, so far as elementary education is concerned, are far ahead of the Indians from whom their knowledge of letters is derived. To their teachers they are further indebted for model instruction in the humanities, including their duty towards their neighbours ; especially—to quote the Church Catechism again—"in submitting themselves to all their governors, spiritual pastors and masters, and to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters"—practical lessons not sufficiently attended to in the English Government schools.

The *phônggyees* possess no sacerdotal functions, and cannot impart ghostly comfort to erring sinners ; for every Buddhist believes he must stand or fall by the state of his account of religious merits and demerits as recorded in the book of Fate. They are invited to the house of mourning, not for the purpose of offering consolation to the unhappy or the bereaved, but in subservience to the prevalent superstition that the presence of holy persons scares away malignant spirits. Social gatherings on joyful occasions or for amusement are seldom, if ever, honoured by their presence. As celebrities, they would be scandalized if asked to assist a marriage. In short, judged by a Western standard, it would appear that they fail to sympathize with the people and to do their duty by them. But, after all, if we make up a debtor account between the clergy and the laity, the balance seems decidedly in favour of the former ; for much that is good in the Burmese character is no doubt due to the instruction imbibed in the monastery schools, and the wholesome influence exercised therein.

Not the least of the boons received by Burma from India is that of a written language with a grammatical instruction which gives it a concrete and permanent shape ; the result being that the homogeneity of the tribes, now amalgamated under the designation of Burmese, is preserved, and thus forms a contrast to the disintegration that characterizes their northern congeners, owing to the great diversity of dialects prevailing in the region they occupy. The construction of the Burmese alphabet distinctly proves its Indian origin ; while the rounded form of its letters indicates the influence of Southern Indian languages, inscribed with the stylus on palm leaves. Burmese literature, partly influenced though it has been by Western civilization, is essentially what it was when the Hindus first taught the people a knowledge of letters. As much of it has a religious tendency, and serves to flatter the exalted opinion they have of themselves, it naturally makes a very decided impression on a proud, high-spirited people, who, though

fond of gaiety and amusement, decidedly recognize a religious element in the secular affairs of life. Whatever may be its fault, it is decidedly pure, and singularly free from offences against sound morality which too often debase the literature of more advanced nationalities. Besides the *Pitika* or Buddhist scriptures, and the *Maha Rajah Weng*, or the great history of kings, they have numerous commentaries on both, as well as treatises on medicine, astronomy, astrology, cosmography, arithmetic, and grammar. All have a religious tinge, grammar not excepted; for even that work contains a dissertation on the sacred Pali language.* Their cosmography is identical with Hindu cosmography; but the too vivid imaginations of its teachers have developed the immensities of the latter with many variations. Yet its extravagances continue to charm even those who, from having adopted Western views, recognize their absurdity. Like nursery tales, they have been ingrained into their very being from earliest infancy, and exercise for them a fascination almost as wonderful as is the case with their more illiterate countrymen. The royal library at Mandalay, which probably is still preserved, contained a valuable collection of Pali and Burmese works, and in some of the principal monasteries there are excellent libraries of which the abbots are justly proud. The public have access to them by making interest with the custodians. But as they only consist of manuscripts on palm leaves, which have to be copied if their contents are to be utilized beyond the precincts of the monasteries, the diffusion of literature among the people is not very great. What there is, consists chiefly of extracts from the national history and *Zats*, or short stories describing the experiences of the founder of their religion, in his numerous transmigrations till he became Budha. All the scenes of these *Zats* are

* The famous Pali grammar of Kachayano supposed to have been written five hundred years before Christ, and to be the oldest grammar in India, was discovered in Burma by Dr. Mason in 1853, after it had been given up as lost. Other copies have since been found in Ceylon. Forbes' "Burma." London, 1878.

laid in India, as is the case with most of their religious and secular works.

The printing-press—which must be placed to the credit of Western civilization—has been utilized in greatly increasing the number of these historical gleanings and semi-religious narratives. The American missionaries have given the people an excellent translation of the Holy Bible, and have also published many religious books and tracts with the avowed object of converting them. As the Burmese have absolutely nothing in the way of popular literature, in our acceptation of the word, they have also aided the endeavours of the English Government to supply this want by bringing within the reach of the people several useful and interesting works, intended to wean them from their childish pleasure in fabulous tales. The Burmese, though so many of them can read, do not either for interest or instruction study their books very much, and an effort to promote this taste in favour of literature of an elevating tendency deserves much sympathy and encouragement. But they have so long been nourished on a *pabulum* far from appetizing, that they shrink from the more wholesome food which would be so much better for them if they could digest it. From a lack of sympathy, however, with a somewhat romantic people, who require to be judiciously humoured and not driven, we, expecting them to run before they can walk, have as yet to learn the secret of success in this as well as in other matters of education.

Before adjudging a nation's place in the scale of civilization, the progress it has achieved in the knowledge of architecture is a pertinent subject for inquiry. It must be confessed that the Burmese in this respect are comparatively backward, and that the results of purely indigenous effort, as now exemplified, are not very creditable either to their inventive genius or constructive ability—unless, indeed, the three principal temples at Pugân, erected between 1057 and 1227 A.D., be the work of Burmese architects. In this case, the latter must have been a veritable Triton

among minnows, when we compare their productions with those of their contemporaries and successors. Their pagodas, monasteries, and dwelling-houses, severally follow the same plans so religiously, that they appear to have been built after sealed patterns. This idiosyncrasy is partly due to an absurd social prejudice, which forbids the idea of any one walking over head; hence human habitations of all kinds have but one story, and consequently there is little opportunity for architectural display. It is therefore somewhat anomalous to find that in the aforementioned temples they have buildings of exceptional interest and beauty of which any nation might well be proud. It has not inaptly been remarked that all of them suggest memories of Southern Catholic Europe, and possess "an actual sublimity of architectural effect which excites wonder and almost awe."* One of these, the Ananda, built by Kyinsitha, king of Burma in the eleventh century, or about the period of the Norman conquest of England, having "marked peculiarities and felicities of its own" which tend to enhance this exceptional influence. The other two buildings were also erected probably under the auspices of Burmese kings; but how the architects were inspired remains an unsolved archæological problem to this day—complicated not a little by the prevalence therein of the pointed arch, which was almost universally adopted in the Burmese style of that period. It is certainly curious, as Mr. Ferguson † points out, to find it so current and perfect *beyond* India long before it was known in that country. He might have added, in Europe, as it was not introduced there till the time of the Crusades. Though there is no trace from whence the designs of these beautiful buildings were derived, their ornamental details certainly correspond with those found on the Thahtun pagodas, which doubtless are of Hindu origin, as well as those on

* "Yule's Mission to the Court of Ava." London, 1858.

† Appendix to "Yule's Mission to Ava." London, 1858.

temples in Southern India and Ceylon. But whether the Pagan temples be the result of foreign or indigenous art, it is a regrettable fact that in anything they have since attempted, the Burmese have not been inspired thereby.

Having briefly disposed of some of the results of Eastern civilization, I may now take into consideration what Western civilization has done for the people. Several European travellers have visited Burma, and given interesting details of what they have seen and done there. But apparently only the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English have resided in the country long enough and in sufficient numbers to affect the indigenous civilization. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch had possession of the island of Negrais, and the English had factories at Syriam, Prome, Ava, and probably at Bamoa. A dispute between the governor of Pegu and the Dutch commandant caused the expulsion of both the Dutch and the English—the Burmese then, as now, taking little trouble to distinguish one European nationality from another. The results of their occupation were not sufficiently tangible, apparently, to induce the Dutch to try their fortunes again, for we hear no more of them. The English were more adventurous; for in the eighteenth century, when Aloungpra (Alompra), the founder of the last Burmese dynasty, was at war with the Talaings, we find them again at Syriam, where they as well as the French had settlements. The policy of these settlers was, to say the least, vacillating, as it was guided merely by the fluctuating fortunes of the contending nations. The English were the first to get into difficulties thereby, owing to their treacherous behaviour towards the Burmese; yet Aloungpra, in the most magnanimous spirit, not only forgave them, but also allowed them to establish factories at Rangoon and Bassein. Some time afterwards, it appears the French were guilty of similar reprehensible conduct; but the king was then implacable, and in a fit of rage put to death the agent of their factory as well as the captain and officers of a French ship which then happened to be at

anchor in the river near Syriam. The subordinates of the factory were sent as prisoners to Ava, where their descendants, known as native Christians, are now to be found. Their compatriots neither resented this ignominy, nor tried their fortunes again in Burma till very lately, when by their pronounced intrigues, antagonistic to English claims, they precipitated events which led to the recent war and annexation of King Theebaw's dominions. Neither the Dutch nor the French, therefore, seem to have exercised much influence on the Burmese. The Portuguese and English, however, have made their mark on Burmese history.

Very soon after Vasco di Gama discovered the Cape route to India, the Portuguese began to take advantage of this splendid field, and in 1498, under the guidance of the celebrated Albuquerque, arrived on the Malabar coast, and from thence sweeping the Indian and Chinese seas with their ships, created for themselves a great prestige, and gave a vast impetus to trade in all the surrounding regions. Their first settlement was among the people whose deficiency of clothing so shocked Marco Polo's modesty. From them they probably ascertained the great trading capabilities of Burma on the opposite side of the Bay of Bengal, inhabited by a people rejoicing in the possession of garments, in the shape of tattooed inexpressibles which never wore out. For Albuquerque, soon after his arrival in India, deputed an envoy for the purpose of making a commercial treaty with the Viceroy of Martaban, now an insignificant village opposite Maulmain, but then a great trading emporium. The Viceroy, much impressed by the Portuguese power and promises, actually defied his sovereign, who promptly made arrangements for investing Martaban and bringing his rebellious vassal to his senses. The latter, trusting to his own troops, but chiefly to his Portuguese allies, nothing daunted, persisted in his defiance. When the actual tug of war arrived, however, he found himself the victim of misplaced confidence in the foreigners, for they

deserted in a body when they found their employer was getting the worst of the struggle. They thus precipitated the capture of the town, with the attendant horrors of a successful Asiatic siege. This incident not a little damaged their reputation for courage and trustworthiness. Early in the seventeenth century, swarms of Portuguese pirates infested the Burmese seas, and adventurers of that nation had much to do in influencing the course of events in Arakan and the adjacent countries, as well as the Irawadi delta.* The King of Arakan was a notable instance of the intrigues of both. His Majesty was very anxious to retain Syriam occupied by his victorious army, wherein a detachment of Arakanese troops had been left when the main body returned to Arakan. But knowing he could not do so without the concurrence of the Portuguese, and too proud to solicit their aid openly, he endeavoured to secure their good offices by indirect means. Impelled by a very common weakness of Oriental diplomacy, he selected as his agent at Syriam a young Portuguese, named Philip de Brito, a menial of his palace, who began life as a ship boy. De Brito shamefully abused this confidence in his integrity, and, aided by the boldness of a Portuguese officer named Salvador Ribeyro, expelled the Arakanese garrison from the fort, and assumed the governorship of the settlement. He then proceeded to Goa, and obtained the sanction of the Portuguese Viceroy of India to represent him at Syriam. De Brito further played his cards so well, that the Viceroy was induced to give him his niece in marriage, to send him back to Pegu with the title of Captain-General, and to give him six Portuguese ships to support his authority. Ribeyro, who acted as governor during his chief's absence, not only maintained strict discipline among his somewhat turbulent and discontented countrymen, under very aggravating circumstances, but in a commendable spirit of loyalty took such prudent measures to conciliate the Talaing chiefs,

* For details regarding the exploits of the Portuguese during this period, see Phayre's "*History of Burma*." London, 1883.

and to secure their confidence, that when De Brito returned as the Portuguese Viceroy's representative, they offered to accept him as King of Pegu. Had De Brito been as prudent and judicious as his lieutenant, he might easily have secured a rich appanage to the throne of Portugal. But intoxicated by his rapid rise to power and fortune, he not only wantonly outraged the religious feelings of his subjects, thus exciting their bitterest hatred to his person, but was recklessly aggressive towards the King of Burma, failing at the same time to make adequate provision against inevitable retaliation. The opportunity for his complete discomfiture offered before long. For the King of Burma, aided by the King of Arakan—who was only too anxious to punish his former servant—taking advantage of the disaffection in Pegu caused by De Brito's unwise rule, and noting the want of proper preparation for such a contingency, regularly invested Syriam and captured it without much difficulty. Most of the native garrison managed to effect their escape before the final crisis, but De Brito and the Portuguese were made prisoners. The commander was impaled on a high stake in front of his own house, many of the leading officers were executed, and the rest, as well as De Brito's wife and several persons of mixed race, were—like the French in the same predicament a century before—sent as slaves to Ava. Nothing now remains to tell that the Portuguese have been in the country, excepting a few brick ruins, the descendants of those slaves many of whom were drafted into the Burmese artillery, and a brief reference in the *Maha Rajah Weng* to De Brito, denounced as the “sacrilegious wretch who destroyed pagodas.”

British influence was initiated in 1824-25 by an appeal to arms, resulting in forcing the Burmese to surrender the seaboard provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim; thus cutting off the outstretched wings to which, in an extreme flight of fancy on the part of an English historian, the Burmese Empire has been likened. It was emphasized in like manner in 1852-53, when its body was taken away by the

annexation of Pegu, thus depriving Burma proper of maritime intercourse with the outer world, excepting through English territory. The Burmese Government neglected to take these lessons to heart, and so in 1885-86 it culminated by the same process, and the bird's tail, or, in other words, all that was left of the Burmese Empire, disappeared. The British declare that these several annexations were inevitable owing to the crass impracticability of the Burmese, while the latter retort that the truth is aptly illustrated in the ancient fable of the wolf and the lamb. A decision on this knotty point fortunately does not come within the scope of this paper. The Burmese, by the inexorable logic of fact, have now come to the conclusion that British influence, whether backed by British soldiers and breechloaders, or supported by British spirits and opium, is a real and tangible thing. But they are by no means convinced that they have derived as much benefit therefrom as evil. They rebelliously refuse to kiss the rod, or to admit that what the British have done for them or their country is calculated to inspire feelings of gratitude, respect, and affection, as the exponents of their policy would have them to believe. On the contrary, with considerable cogency they argue that if the assumptions of the latter be correct, by parity of reasoning the provinces longest under British control ought to show the greatest progress, and their inhabitants be the happiest and best, the most prosperous and contented; whereas the reverse is the case, as even the present administrators of Burma would not venture to deny. The policy of the Government of India, though paved with the best intentions, was for many years cursed with a moral obliquity of vision which saw no harm in depriving Lower Burma of the whole of her surplus revenue. And it is now blind to its own advantage by hesitating to advance the necessary outlay for the development of Upper Burma, though, as Sir Richard Temple says, the investment would "fructify a hundredfold." This attitude—well understood and discussed by those who have received an English education,

or are interested in the prosperity of the country—has a bad effect on English influence. When we first took possession of the various provinces, the blessings of British rule were freely acknowledged; while the security which the *pax Britannica* brought with it, as well as its merits in the cause of order, compared with the anarchy which marked the old *régime*, were fully appreciated by all. But, with the proverbial short memory of Asiatics, they have forgotten their former troubles, and, freed from chronic anxieties, now take advantage of the leisure thus given them to take umbrage at the faults and failings of their deliverers. The elders particularly inveigh against the evils which Western civilization invariably brings in its train. That the English have introduced much that is good and useful they do not deny, but they complain that they have also brought with them much that is the reverse. The importation of the potent poisons of alcoholic drinks and opium, and the facilities given for their consumption, mean, they declare, demoralization, disease, and death to a people who, no longer deterred by the punishments which intemperance involved under the Burmese *régime*, and deprived of the moral and social safeguards which formerly were so effective, are now more liable to succumb to the temptation which increased material prosperity under British rule has furnished them with the means of indulging. Our educational system, they go on to say, has set at naught the lessons taught in their clerical and lay schools, which, being identical with the precepts taught them by their Great Master, have a lasting hold on their imaginations, and “impressed on the national life such precepts as self-denial, honesty, truthfulness, obedience to parents, tenderness to animals, and faithfulness to the marriage tie.” * When brought into contact with some of the customs introduced by Europeans, the straightforward and manly bearing, and the generous consideration for others, which used to be characteristic of their countrymen, is now,

* Mr. Hardern in *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1887.

they also aver, conspicuous by its absence. This system, which had developed in the people a moral standard so high and social qualities so estimable, encouraged the English to formulate projects for the higher education of a people who had done so much for themselves. But these schemes, alas! were far in advance of their aspirations or requirements. Our agnostic policy, in which religion forms no part of the curriculum, has replaced a system based on religion, which has produced such admirable results. The consequence is that the Burman, unable to bear the strain of purely intellectual teaching, becomes a sceptic in matters of religion; arrogant, overbearing, and indifferent to the amenities of social life, which used not to be the case under different handling. "English education"—as Sir Lepel Griffin pithily puts it—"is an excellent thing, but, like a powerful medicine, it should be administered with discretion, and we must be careful that we do not invite a destructive demon, instead of a healing angel, to trouble the still pool" * of Burmese society.

To sum up—Eastern civilization found the nation now known as Burmese a barbarous race, split up into numerous tribes, isolated from each other by feuds, jealousies, and differences of dialect, and induced them to abandon their savage habits and become a civilized and united people. It then gradually introduced the arts of love and peace, by teaching them simple handicrafts and the rudiments of agriculture and commerce, satisfied that the tender influences of a pure religion would, in their own good time, reclaim them from demonology, which distinguishes the neighbouring cognate tribes to this day. Thus prepared for stronger intellectual food, it initiated them into the mysteries of the Buddhist religion, which, as Edwin Arnold says, "has in it the eternity of a universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of boundless faith in final good, and the proudest assertion ever made of human

* ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1886.

freedom." * It further reduced their language to writing, and furnished them with a grammar. It then gave them a fairly copious and singularly pure literature, religious, historical, pseudo-scientific and dramatical, which, with religion, has done much in forming and accentuating the national character. It granted them as well, a system of free elementary education, accessible to youths of high and low degree. Finally, it made them happy in the thought that by reason of all these inestimable privileges, they are incomparably more fortunate than other people. Western civilization, unfortunately, too often inaugurated its advent by ravaging the country with fire and sword, and, after taking possession, introducing customs which demoralized the people. The English, its most recent representatives, found the Burmese absolutely free from care, leading a happy, contented, and tranquil Arcadian existence ; which, alas ! cannot be said of them since they have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil tendered them by their conquerors. Though, as Sir John Gorst said on September 9th, 1887, in his place in Parliament, the Government of India "is, on the whole, more truly administered for the benefit of the governed than any that has ever been witnessed ; that it is, on the whole, one of the justest and most equitable of which history gives any account ;" yet it is hampered by a want of sympathy which endeavours to apply to Burma the policy that obtains in India, unmindful of the diametrically opposite conditions existing in each country. It has not yet, therefore, learnt the secret of governing the Burmese as wisely as it might. Western civilization has given them a literature consisting of the best of all books—the Holy Bible—and many works of great merit, interest, and usefulness ; but the *Pitika*, or Buddhist bible, and the *Zats* still hold their own. It also diligently promotes education, but its efforts in this direction have not as yet been universally appreciated. Justice is promptly and equitably

* Preface to Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia."

administered, life and property are comparatively safe ; in fact the Burmese possess all the advantages of the *pax Britannica*, so eloquently described by the Chief Commissioner of Burma, at Mandalay, on the 5th of August, 1887. All these blessings are now only accepted as a matter of course by a people who formerly were the victims of gross injustice and misrule. A revolution was inevitable at the clashing of the two civilizations, and in due course the fitter will survive. The Burmese believe that Eastern civilization has ever been a blessing to Burma, Western civilization sometimes a curse. Whatever mistakes the English, or the present exponents of the latter, may have made, they are now earnestly striving to do their duty by the people, who, it is hoped, will before long reconsider their judgment, and give it in favour of Western civilization.

A. R. MACMAHON.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

THE reason why Protestant missionary effort is comparatively unsuccessful is not far to seek. Quite apart from all question of the character of our missionaries and other incidental matters, we must face it that the reason is much more radical. It requires some courage to say it, but the fact is that we do not succeed because we offer a dry and hard religion which appeals neither to the imagination nor to the reason.

Savages take the good of the world as a matter of course—that is all normal ; it is only the evil—disturbances, thunder and lightning, disease and misfortunes of all kinds—that they attribute to supernatural agency, to devils. The first worship is the propitiation of devils ; and from the earliest times it has taken the shape of voluntarily offering them some of the things men prize most, in the hope that they may be satisfied and spare the rest. This is sacrifice—a rite which has been continued in most religions, and which we have not got rid of to this day. But it is certainly the very lowest form of worship, this propitiation of malignant powers.

When people become more civilized, they recognize that the good things of the world are also due to superior Powers ; they worship great and good gods, not omitting the fear of the bad ones at the same time. We know that the Aryans established a great Pantheon and a great Mythology which has permeated several branches of the human race in varying forms, and which became a highly developed and not unattractive worship.

As intelligence and learning increase, these things will not bear looking into too curiously ; and, with the advance

of thought, Romans, Hindoos, and others silently came to lose faith in their gods. Less developed races, even if they do not spontaneously reject their old-fashioned beliefs, can hardly defend them against the attacks of zealous missionaries. It is much easier to undermine old faiths than to set up new ones. The Roman Catholics refurbished and redressed the old Aryan divinities, turned the bad gods into good ones, and put over the whole what we may call a strong infusion of real Christianity; and, aided by a wonderful ecclesiastical organization, they offer a religion not unattractive to people who have not got beyond a moderate stage of development, and who may readily enough receive a greatly improved edition of their own faiths. The Christianity at the back of Catholicism no doubt gives it a great power in a contest with superstitious religions.

On the other hand, to those who are prepared to shake off superstitions, Mohammedanism offers a very rational religion. The reign of uniform law in the natural world is expressed in the unity of God—one overruling Providence. The high character and attributes of the great God are recognized by the total abolition of all the forms of worship which presume a deity of human tastes and passions—not only images and paintings, but music and ecclesiasticism of all kinds go by the board. There is nothing but a simple rational worship, in or out of simple edifices. Decency and sobriety of life are inculcated, drink is prohibited, the equality of man is preached in an attractive form, and good conduct in this world is rewarded by an intelligible Paradise in the next. Such a religion commends itself very readily to people in want of a faith.

When we come to Protestantism we find no attraction of either kind. We have reformed away the ornamental outworks of the old faith, but we have not carried our reforms so far as to approach real Christianity or any sort of rationality in religion. We retain a mystic and unintelligible dogma. And, perhaps, there is less Christianity

than in Catholicism, for less stress seems to be laid on good works—on the working out of our own reward by our own good conduct—and more on salvation by faith, on the dogma of the sacrifice and redemption, on the belief that, whatever we do or do not do, we are vile, and that everything depends on being cleansed by the blood of Christ. We are, we think, not misrepresenting when we say that this doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ is the radical and cardinal doctrine on which all Protestant sects insist as the very fundament of their religion.

Now, just let us see how that religion is presented to the heathen. First, our doctrine of the Trinity surrenders the whole rational doctrine of the unity of God. While professing in one view unity, we set up a wholly unintelligible doctrine of three co-equal Gods. That is, in fact, the old Aryan Trinity, yet in no degree fitted into our system. To one of the persons of the Trinity we assign no intelligible function whatever. We cannot expect that such a doctrine should commend itself to those whom we ask to surrender their own polytheistic superstitions.

Then, in regard to the Christian Revelation, we ask these people to believe that the undoubtedly historical Jesus, was not only the Prophet and Messenger of God, but the very great God himself, whom we insist that our converts must worship as the all-powerful Providence. It is a very startling doctrine. No doubt the Aryans are well accustomed to myths according to which secondary divinities have become incarnate for the benefit of mankind; but they have hardly gone as far as we go. It requires a very large faith to accept our doctrine on this point.

Very much more difficult still is our doctrine of the fall and atonement by sacrifice. To begin with, we must remember that, as has been already said, the whole idea of sacrifice is neither more nor less than the ancient and savage devil-worship—the propitiation of a malignant power. It is wholly impossible to reconcile the idea with any intelligible

conception of the worship of a great and benevolent God. Then the whole doctrine is mystic and contradictory in the very last degree. As some of the human race—babies, for instance—cannot be accused of sin from which they must be saved, we have set up a strange story of the fall, and the too subtle theory of original sin. We might well admire the life of Jesus as a beautiful example, but it is not the life of Jesus, it is His death which we make the crucial part of our doctrine. The very word “crucial” seems to be a record of our belief that the essence of our religion is a reliance on the efficacy of the Cross. It is the sacrifice, the shedding of the blood, the death of Christ, which we insist our converts shall accept as the only means of salvation. We must love Christ not so much because He lived for us, but because He died for us.

Besides the evident objections, in any teaching that pretends to any sort of reasonableness, to this bloody sacrifice to a benevolent God, there is a contradiction in the conception itself which it is impossible to get over. Human beings cling to life, and in spite of the best beliefs in a future world, the surrender of life in the cause of humanity—martyrdom—has always been, and must be, looked on as a high title to respect and Saintdom. But if Jesus was really God, knowing Himself what He is supposed to have taught to us, the surrender of life could be no sacrifice at all, but only a happy ending of a painful task, and a return to that heavenly state from which He had descended.

It comes to this, that while we Protestants have reformed away the more attractive superstitions, we have retained the strange, unintelligible, it may almost be said repulsive, theological doctrines invented by the perverted subtlety of the later Greeks. We ask those whom we would convert to accept this strange theology, not only in addition to, but almost in substitution for, Christianity. We present this dogmatic religion to them not by the mouths of enthusiasts preaching and practising the lowly virtues of the Gospels, and offering consolation to the

poor and oppressed, but by comfortable, well-paid missionaries, who ask them to accept our modern plutocratic and very *casty* society as it is. Can we wonder that such teaching has little attraction for the simple, the poor, and the uneducated, and is wholly rejected by the educated Hindu?

In the matter of forms and ceremonies we are still far behind the Mohammedans. There is a growing tendency among us to decorative and ornamental worship, to music and painted windows and all the rest, to ceremonials inconsistent with that high idea of a great Providence which the Mohammedans recognize in their simplicity of worship. We try to bribe people into our churches by administering to human tastes, and with some success; but if we look into it, that is hardly consistent with a reasonable worship of God.

The truth is, that if we would convert and reform others we must first reform ourselves. We must carry the reformation a great deal farther than the so-called "Reformation" went. We must convert our bishops, our clergy, our missionaries, and our people, to Christianity, and then we may hope to convert the heathen. It need hardly be said that none of the Theology to which we take objection would be learned, by a plain man, from reading the earliest accounts of the life of Jesus in the three Gospels. He would there learn a plain and beautiful religion, by far the best that the world has seen. He is there told of one benevolent God, whose will on earth is the cardinal doctrine of love and charity; the restraint of evil passions; the kindness of man to man; the true religion of humanity. In spite of all that Mohammedanism has borrowed from Christianity, our Christian religion, as originally preached, stands out far superior in its humility and its charity in the largest sense. The personal example of Jesus is, too, a lovely example of these virtues. In that sense love of Christ is an admirable and ennobling idea. If that were all that we insist on when we speak of "love of Christ" it would be excellent.

It is the love of Christ *because He died for us* that involves us in a hopeless theology.

The true religion of Jesus was launched into a world saturated with theologies and philosophies of all kinds, and no sooner was the Master gone than all kinds of noxious excrescences were fastened upon it, and grew and grew until it became utterly corrupt. When Athanasius had triumphed over Arius, and many idolatries and superstitions were added on from all sorts of quarters, Christianity became a miserable superstition which its Founder would not have recognized.

Mohammedanism came upon the world as a kind of reformed Christianity—a protest against the corruptions of Christianity—a purer faith founded on the old models, a return to the old standards. A complete return to the original Christianity it was not ; it by no means adopted to the full the humility and lowly peaceableness of Jesus. Perhaps it was all the more attractive, on that account, to our imperfect nature. But it had all the reasonableness, in contrast to the gross superstitions of the age, which has already been attributed to it, and brought out, as it were, by a very enterprising and enthusiastic people, it is hardly to be wondered that it had a great success. Many of those who adopted it were already a sort of ultra-Protestant Christians, *e.g.*, some of the Eastern sects, and the Bosnians in Europe. As a matter of fact (which we now hardly recognize), it swallowed and absorbed almost the whole of the civilized Christian world of those days—all Christian Asia and Africa. Beyond the effete remains of the Greeks and Romans in the cities of Constantinople and Rome, the corrupt religion, mis-called Christianity, was left to the barbarians of Europe—Goths and Russians and the rest, whose low intellectual development suited them to superstitious uses, and to wholesale conversions at the bidding of their chiefs. When the Mohammedans annexed the civilized countries of the Græco-Roman Empire they also inherited the civilization and learning of that Empire.

Hence it was that they gave to the world not only a better religion, but laws, science, and literature, when our ancestors were still quite barbarous. Thus everything facilitated their constant progress for upwards of a thousand years after the institution of the Mohammedan religion, and they still progress in the less civilized regions of the earth—notably in Africa.

It is very difficult to say exactly what the Mohammedan religion is. We have it not clear and plain in short compass as we have Christianity in the three Gospels. Outsiders can only judge it by its fruits. Its general character has been already stated. Certainly, it seems to be very effective in rendering men's lives and manners outwardly decent and respectable. It has this very great advantage, that having no difficult creed, exacting no beliefs *primâ facie* repulsive to reason and common sense, there is among Mohammedans very little tendency towards infidelity. And it is patent that the professors of the Mohammedan religion are not ashamed of it; men profess it openly as much as women profess Christianity among us. The morals inculcated seem to be good. Converts are welcomed as brothers and equals far more than is the case with us. It has been said that Mohammedanism wants Christian humility. But it is the greatest possible mistake to suppose that as a proselytizing religion it is very intolerant and persecuting. On the contrary, the Mohammedans have throughout been far more tolerant than the Christians; they have not persecuted into conformity, or burnt those who differ from them in faith. While the Christian Powers insisted on the whole population accepting their dogmas, and so have created comparatively homogeneous communities, the Mohammedans freely tolerate those who submit to them. It has even been, in modern days, the weakness of Turks and Moguls, that they have continued to retain in their midst a non-converted population.

Probably it is to the prohibition of the use of alcohol that the outward decency of Mohammedans, as compared

to Christians, is due. It is drink that debases and degrades so large a part of our lower Christian populations. We not only have no prohibition of drink, but we in some sort sanctify it by its use in our so-called sacraments. That use of wine as representing the blood of Christ (to which we attribute such extraordinary virtue) is not only a very low form of superstition, but greatly increases the difficulty of dealing with the liquor question. It cannot be said that Mohammedans never drink, but they really rarely do so. It cannot be said that there are not many bad Mohammedans given to many vices, especially among semi-converted races of a rude character; but, take them all in all, the population of civilized Mohammedan countries have a comparatively decorous mien and manner. Their faults are those principally of the ages in which Mohammedanism was matured, while our virtues are rather those of our age than of our religion.

After all, the popular prejudice against the Mohammedan religion is probably chiefly due to the idea that it is responsible for polygamy. It cannot be too often repeated that neither is polygamy a specially Mohammedan institution, nor monogamy a specially Christian institution. Both are much older than those religions. It is a question between a marriage by contract and a sacramental indissoluble marriage. If a man cannot get rid of his wife he is generally little inclined to take another. The sacramental marriage is a very old Aryan institution, the origin of which we do not know. Among the Hindus even death does not dissolve it. It pervaded all the old Aryan world. Contractual marriages prevailed, as we know, among the Semites—Jews, Arabs, and the rest. What is made by contract can be unmade by contract; and so marriage by contract is always accompanied by the greatest facilities for divorce—a man can take new wives, and get rid of old ones. And in Eastern countries he is not prohibited from contracting with more than one woman at the same time, though the practice is really rare. The Mohammedan

facilities for divorce are greatly curtailed by the universal practice in civilized Mohammedan countries of securing the wife by handsome dower settlements, and by the law which has always recognized the separate property of married women. We know that among the later Romans contract superseded sacrament in regard to marriage, and that this became the Roman law of marriage. There was such facility for divorce that the practice differed little from Eastern polygamy. The Mohammedan law is chiefly Roman law, and, both the ancient laws of the Arabs and the more recent laws of the Romans concurring in making marriage a mere contract, it is not surprising that this law has prevailed in Mohammedan countries. But it has really nothing whatever to do with the religion. In fact, the contractual marriage of the Roman law has come into many Christian countries ; and in modern days people in America and elsewhere insist on a facility of divorce which is quite inconsistent with the old sacramental marriage.

We will not here enter into the question whether Jesus Christ really made obligatory the sacramental marriage, but it is certain that for some reason the Catholic Church has always adopted that system. It may be a matter of opinion whether it be good ; as has just been said, it is found difficult to hold to it in modern countries. But so far as monogamy and the prohibition of divorce is a good, that merit must be allowed to the credit of the old Christian Church. Be that as it may, the strict rule of marriage of the Christian Churches is not in favour of missionary progress, for marriage by contract is much more consonant to the habits and tastes of most non-Aryan races ; and a religion which regulates and legalizes a system of the kind is more agreeable to them than one which restricts to one wife and is of a severely binding character.

The advantages of culture, civilization, and power which the Mohammedans possessed for so many centuries have now passed away from them. Those advantages are entirely with the Christians. In India and some other

countries statistics show that the Mohammedans have ceased to advance rapidly. But, in spite of all the advantages of a governing race, still less do the Protestant Christians. The Hindus, in the mass, still cling to their old institutions, and those who are educated out of their old beliefs equally pass by Mohammedan and Christian beliefs. It is only in dealing with simpler races, with less active beliefs of their own, that any comparison can now be made between Christian and Mohammedan progress; and in that case the advantages seem to be decidedly with the Mohammedans.

There is nothing in the idiosyncrasy of the African race that specially favours Mohammedanism. On the contrary, they seem to be emotional, and to people who have once thoroughly accepted the dogma, there is a certain emotional attraction in the doctrine which preaches the love of Christ crucified and salvation by faith. There are no better Christians of the emotional type than the negroes of America. Being absolved from civil slavery they will not submit to religious slavery, and will have nothing to say to Romanism. They much affect independentism in religion, and are still far from strict in their domestic relations. How it might have been if they had been brought into contact with Mohammedanism we cannot tell, but as it is, having become Christians, they are very earnest and hearty in their own churches. In Africa it seems to be admitted that the Mohammedans have a great success, while we have a very little. As mere unassisted missionaries they are converting the people wholesale in north and central Africa, while we do nothing there. In South Africa, with all the advantages of a governing power, and large and liberal missionary efforts, we make but halting and doubtful progress.

We can only end as we have begun, by saying that Christians cannot hope to convert the heathen till they convert themselves. If we could but return to the Christianity of Jesus, Mohammedanism would have no chance. While we preach dogmatic theology, which no man can understand, we are hopelessly weighted in the race.

THE SHAN STATES.

ENGLISHMEN who have been in Eastern China are supposed to know something of Indo-China. This is a fallacy. A person long resident in Pekin, being asked the other day about the Shan States, spoke of them as "a beautiful country, possessing a delightful climate and inhabited by a nice, simple people." A Panthay settler on the east bank of the Salween (Namkong) River calculated that it would take him three months to march mules laden with merchandise from the Salween to Pekin. This being so, it is not surprising that impressions of the Shan States at Pekin should be vague. It is, nevertheless, actually true that those States are "a beautiful country, possessing a delightful climate." From Burma to the Salween, and from Karenni to the valley of the Namtu (Myitngé) River, the country is an undulating plateau seamed with ranges of hills. The lowest valley is about 1,800 feet, and the top of the highest peak about 9,000 feet above the sea-level.* In all this expanse there is not, I believe, one square mile of barren soil. The hillsides are usually clothed in luxuriant vegetation, where the jungle has not been cleared for rice or opium cultivation. In the south and in the basins of the Namma and Namtu Rivers are fine teak forests, a source of wealth as yet but partially exploited. In other places the traveller comes across open undulating grassy downs. The valley of every river and stream, unless it is a mere gorge, is or has been cultivated with rice. At the present perhaps three-fourths of the area of this country

* Immediately north of the Namtu the country rises 1,000 feet as in a step, and then stretches north at this higher level to the Shwéli (Nammau) River, and thence onward to the valley of the Taping.

is little more than trackless jungle and forest. The remaining one-fourth, which has been cultivated with rice, opium, sugar, cotton, fruits, vegetables, tobacco, garlic, sesamum, &c., has sufficed for the wants of the sparse population. Now that peace is likely to be the lot of this country, and that peace brings increase of population, we may expect to see a decrease in the area of uncleared and an increase in the area of cleared and cultivated land. If we look on the country merely from a picturesque point of view, there is much in it to admire. The scenery of the Salween, Namtu, and a score of minor rivers and streams, the perfect clearness and rapid flow of the water, the overhanging cliffs, and often almost precipitous hillsides clad from base to summit with forest growth, the splendid luxuriance of the vegetation in the ravines, and the ever-inseparable streamlet of cool, clear water that bubbles over stones and under trees and bushes and tangled grass, the bamboos and tree-ferns, the forests of pine and evergreen oak, and last, not least, the invigorating air of the higher elevations—all these make the Shan States pleasant to travel in. The road may run for miles along the backbone of a hill-range 6,000 feet high, pine forest on the summit and a life-giving air that reminds one of the "old country ;" while below, in the ravines and gorges, is vegetation as luxuriant and as brilliant in colouring as anything to be seen in the tropics. At other times the road winds for thirty or forty miles down a narrow gorge along the banks of a rushing, tumbling river or rivulet, with steep hills rising straight up overhead for several thousand feet, and clothed in dense jungle. These gorges are beautiful enough, but it is monotonous to have one's range of vision confined for several days to a distance of a hundred yards. The eye begins to feel like the prisoned eagle and to fret under its confinement. Perhaps the most noticeable thing in the Shan States is the abundance and excellence of the water. A small party has no need to go far to find a delicious camping-ground under shady trees, and by the side a

rippling stream. It must not of course be supposed that the columns that have been exploring and reducing to submission these States during the past winter have been invariably revelling in beauteous scenery and picturesque bivouacs. Far from it; but this is no place to explain in detail why the movements of troops cannot always share the charm that attends the travels of the sportsman and globe-trotter.

Strictly speaking, the climate of the Shan States can only be termed "delightful" for four months in the year, viz., November, December, January, and February. The hot months, March to June, and the rainy months, July to October, are not pleasant. But, comparatively speaking, these seasons are much more bearable in the Shan States than in the valley of the Irrawaddy.

Where, however, the person from Pekin went egregiously astray was in speaking of the Shans as "a nice, simple people." The Shans are a Mongolian race. In feature and general appearance they approach the Burman rather than the Chinese. We have not been educated to look upon the Mongolian nationalities as "nice, simple people." The history of Turk and Tartar conquest suggests no such idea. In modern times the astuteness and capacity of the Chinaman are making him the dreaded rival of the operatives of Australasia and the New World generally. The simplicity of the Mongolian character has been ably portrayed in Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinees." As the "Chinees" is simple, so is the Shan. The Shans are not a race that invite the sympathy, regard, and admiration of their European fellow-men. They have seemingly little or no pride of personal appearance. The dress even of men of rank among them is often exceedingly slovenly and dirty. They have no manners worth speaking of. Their chiefs and high officials are, many of them, the veriest boors. All classes are lazy and sordid. Some few individuals among them are happy exceptions to this general rule, and superior by their innate merit. The first specimen of the

Shan that I met was, I think, Kun San Tôn Hôn, a self-made man, the usurper and now the Sawbwa (Chief) of Northern Theinni. The present condition of the Shan States is one of extreme poverty; and yet not even poverty seemed capable of rousing them to energetic effort. Their naturally sordid instincts led them to endeavour to dispose of their property to strangers at exorbitant prices; fair prices would not satisfy them. Even their Tamons and Myozas (petty chiefs or governors of districts) were not above stooping to such traffic. When I first entered the Shan States I expected to find in the high officials men of some manners and dignity of bearing, and I treated them ceremoniously. I very soon arrived at the conclusion that my ceremonial formalities were misunderstood, and I gradually dropped them. A more intimate knowledge of their characters showed me that the term "*noblesse oblige*" had no meaning for them whatever. Still, the lower classes, with all their laziness and uncleanness, have their good points. I tried once to get a man to carry a letter fifty miles in forty-eight hours; not a man came forward. Yet a few days later I saw several Shan coolies carry, without a murmur, loads of forty or fifty pounds thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours. They are, on the whole, cheery and ready enough at their work when they feel that they have to do it. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte* is particularly true of them. Their innate laziness drives them to shirk any work; but once start them on a job and they work well enough. Even a scarcity of food bordering on famine on the one hand and the certainty of good pay and free rations on the other were motives not strong enough to make them voluntarily overcome their natural aversion to labour.

Such, in my opinion, are some of the characteristics of the Shans. They are not a brave race, and their foot is as yet barely on the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization. The Burmese are far ahead of the Shans in civilization; and I should say that the Shans are in that respect somewhat ahead of the other tribes located around or amongst

them, the Karens, Kakhyens, the Las, and the Was. The Palaungs may, in point of civilization, be placed on a par with the Shans.

I know of only one person who has as yet ventured to make the Shans the subject of historical research ; and that is Mr. Ney Elias. To unravel the web of the history and ethnology of the races that inhabit the tract bounded on the west by Burma, the north and north-east by China, the east by Tonquin, and the south by Siam and Karenni, would be the labour of several lifetimes. After all, to know what all these races were is a matter mainly of interest to science. For practical purposes we want to know what they are now, and what they may be in the future ; and it is with that aspect of the question that I propose now to treat. The days when it was considered *de rigueur* for boys to learn Grecian and Latin mythology are now gone by. Yet Greek and Latin mythology may be said to be among the basement stones of European literature. Who then but the *dilettante* can yearn after Shan literature and Shan mythology ? Literature there certainly is. You may see it lying about dirty and uncared for in pagodas, phoongyi-kyaungs (priests' houses and seminaries), and zayats (rest-houses for travellers). The existence of books for public use in zayats and pagodas indicates that at least a fair proportion of the people are educated. The educational establishments of the Shans, as of the Burmans, are all managed by the Phoongyis (priests). Most boys from early childhood are sent to attend these schools. Consequently in Burmah, and to a less degree in the Shan States, the knowledge of reading and writing is widely spread even among the lowest classes. Universal education was a *sine quâ non* in these countries before it had even attracted the attention of the Statesmen of that Power which has recently conquered and annexed them.

The historical records of each of the numerous Shan States are said to remain in the immediate possession of

the Chief (Sawbwa or Myoza) and of his Amáts or Ministers. Considering the weakness that the Shans have for destroying with fire and sword, especially fire, I should be disposed to say that but few of their records can now be in existence. Milner's patent fire-proof safes have not yet been introduced into the Shan States. In cases, however, where these records have survived, their value and trustworthiness are dubious. As for oral narratives and traditions, they are only calculated to drive the searcher after historical truth into a lunatic asylum.

The tract of country of which I am now treating, and whose limits I have defined just above, is inhabited by many different tribes. The following (in addition to Shans) are some of them :—Palaungs, Karens (Red and White), Kakhyens, Dunoos, Las, Was, Kaws, Chins, Yins or Yeins, Yindalaings, Padaungs, Taungthus, Müsüs, and Kakuis. I believe that all these tribes speak their own special dialects, but none of them have a written language. Those who do write, write Shan or Burmese, and they often speak one or other of these languages in addition to their own.

Siam is itself an organized Shan kingdom ;* but it is beyond the scope of this article, except in so far as it is interested in the coming delimitation of the boundary of the British Shan States. It has been hitherto customary to class these States as Burmese, Chinese, Siamese, and Independent Shan States. As such I will consider them later on. In the meantime a few words on the wild tribes. The most prominent of these are the Palaungs, Kakhyens, and Las (leaving out the Karens, whose country I have not visited). All these three races frequent the hilly or mountainous tracts. Their dwellings are never, or hardly ever, found located in valleys. Whence this custom I cannot say for certain ; but its probable origin is to secure immunity from attack. There is reason to believe that the Shans prefer not to

* The Northern Siamese are said to speak a language three-fourths of the words of which are Shan ; but the Southern Siamese dialect contains only 25 per cent. of Shan words.

interfere with the exclusive tendencies of these their neighbours. If any records of Kakhyen history were forthcoming, we should find it a record of aggression. The old Shan States of Mogaung and Monhyin, the Chinese Shan States between the Taping and the Shwéli and the Shan States (Momeit and Theinni), are now widely overrun with Kakhyens. This people seems to push on noiselessly, but irresistibly. The Shans hate and fear them, but cannot stop them. They are a pushing race, and not improbably the time will come when the Shan will be effaced before the Kakhyen. They have no religion. They are "pagan" or "heathen." They worship, or rather propitiate, certain evil spirits called "nats." Buddhism has made no way with him, although many of the Las are Buddhists. But the Kakhyen is a shrewd man of the world. He rears buffaloes, oxen, ponies, pigs, and fowls, and he cultivates rice and other staple articles of food. He is willing to dispose of his goods and wares at a reasonable profit, whereas nothing will content a Shan but an unreasonable one. They have pushed themselves among the Palaungs and Las, as well as among the Shans. There are many Kakhyens in the north of Taungbain, and in the La States east of the Salween. They seem to have carefully held aloof from the internecine strife that has reduced the Cis-Salween Shan States to their present state of misery. Consequently they are everywhere prosperous, while the Shans are everywhere poverty-stricken. The traveller finds the Kakhyen women in the village working away at their domestic and industrial pursuits, while the men are away in the fields and jungle, clearing, ploughing, sowing, or wood-cutting. The Kakhyen cultivates opium and distils arrack (shamshu), and probably consumes both to his detriment.

He is said also be an arrant coward. So he may be; but he knows how to make up for his cowardice by the security of his mountain fastnesses. But that he is so arrant a coward is not proved. The columns that have

been sent from Bhamo into the Kakhyen hills have received somewhat rough treatment—in fact, to speak plainly, they got the worst of it. These Kakhyens know how to utilize the advantages of a dense jungle. Personally, I found the Kakhyens of Northern Theinni a very amenable people. They always willingly afforded any assistance in the matter of water, food supplies, guides, coolies, &c. In this respect they were decidedly more easy and satisfactory to deal with than the Shans. In religion and education the Kakhyen is admissibly far behind the Burman and even the Shan. Great thinkers have recognized in Buddhism no unworthy forerunner of Christianity. But the religious rites of the Kakhyens are little, if at all, superior to fetish-worship. Fear, not love, is the keynote of Kakhyen religion. The “Nat” is a power of nature, an evil genius that must be propitiated. At the same time the Kakhyen’s method of propitiation is eminently practical. He may sacrifice a pig or two, or a bullock, or a dozen of fowls as an offering to the “Nats,” but he and his invited friends afterwards regale themselves on the cooked flesh thereof. When a Kakhyen is seriously ill, his friends send him presents of pigs, fowls, shamshu, &c. These are intended primarily as a propitiatory offering to “*pallida Mors*”; but ultimately they become the material for the celebration of a species of wake—not the Irish wake, which is the sequel of death, but one that may be the forerunner of it. Curious are the tombs, too, that they erect over the remains of their dead: uncouth structures of grass and bamboo twenty feet high, not unlike a gigantic haycock, with a few loose rags fluttering at the top. Their houses, as a rule, are great barracks of bamboo and thatching, sixty or seventy feet long by some twenty broad. In one of these reside several families, not to mention the fowls and the pigs. This is a second point of resemblance between the Kakhyen and the Irishman.

The Kakhyens are said to be of two clans or classes, “Big” and “Little.” What is the origin of this distinction, and wherein the two differ, I could not ascertain. There is

nothing remarkable about the Kakhyen men. They are, if anything, smaller than Shans, very ugly and very dirty. They carry guns, dahs, and spears like their neighbours. The dah of the Kakhyen and Palaungs is, however, of a special pattern, differing from the patterns in vogue among Burmans and Shans. The Kakhyen women are the funniest little things imaginable. They are about four feet high, and reminded me forcibly of the pictures I had seen of the Esquimaux. They dress in home-made blue cloth, trimmed sometimes with red. Their waists, which are not remarkable for their slender proportions, are girt around with innumerable folds of cane or bamboo withies, sometimes overlaid with silver. Their petticoats reach to the knee, the rest of their nether limbs being chastely clad in blue cloth gaiters. In their ears they wear silver tubes, about nine inches long, and two-thirds of an inch in diameter. They also wear silver bracelets and necklets. The Shans and Burmans, men and women, have also a taste for gigantic ear ornaments. I at first firmly believed that the hideous manner in which they perforate and distend the lobe of the ear was intended for some practical purpose. Had I been asked to guess what purpose, I should have answered "to carry cheroots." Burmese and Shan men and women are inveterate smokers, and their cheroots are not uncommonly eight or nine inches long by one inch in diameter. However, I have reason to believe that this distension of the lobe of the ear is considered a beauty. The Shan fully values any personal advantages that Nature has conferred on him. A Shan with a fine pair of well-tattooed legs (they tattoo from the waist to the ankle as a rule; the Burman only tattoos from the waist to the knee) takes every opportunity of rolling his loose breeks up to the thigh, so displaying to advantage his "beautiful legs."

The Palaungs, both men and women, are in appearance like the Kakhyens. Their home is in the State of Taungbain (in Shan, Livélôn), just north of Thibaw, but they are spread over many parts of Thibaw and Theinni, and even

east of the Salween, in the country of the Las. In Taungbain their occupation is the cultivation of that tea which is almost universally consumed by the natives of Burma, Siam, the Shan States, and Karenni. And very execrable tea it is. There are two kinds, wet and dry, according to the method of preparation. I have tried their dry tea, and I found it a most revolting decoction. It is invariably drunk with salt. I gave a Shan Tamôn once a cup of tea with milk and sugar, and he evidently thought it exceedingly nasty, and so did his followers, to whom the cup was circulated, and each of whom had a sip. This tea is cultivated on cleared hillsides almost steeper and stonier than the vineyards of the Rhine and Moselle. It appears to be greatly esteemed by the people who consume it. The dry tea is cured on the same principle as Indian and Chinese teas. The wet tea is a horrible compound, the preparation of which (it is steeped in ginger, oil, salt, garlic, &c.) ought to resemble that of *sauerkraut*. It is eaten as a relish. During my travels in Shan-land I met but one kind of European tinned edible. It was Anglo-Swiss tinned milk. Jam, potted meats, *pâté de foie gras*, had no attractions for the Shan palate; but a spoonful of "condensed milk" mixed with a platter (the platter mostly in use is the plantain leaf) of rice was in his eyes food fit for the gods.

The Las are almost all settled on the east bank of the Salween, from the Kumlôn ferry southward to the Supkat ferry. This country is known to the Burmans as the Lawa country and it is inhabited by the wild Was and the more civilized Las. The principal La States bordering on the Salween are called Someu, Kangseu, and Mothai. Meung-leun calls itself a Shan State, but the people are mostly Las, and the chief is the son of a La father. Eastward again of these four are other La States, but of them little or nothing is known. The La States have an organized system of government, whereas the Was seem to live in scattered settlements among the mountains. Of the unpleasant propensities of these Was many reports are current. The most

disagreeable are cannibalism and the sacrifice of human beings. The Las are many of them Buddhists. The Was are gross heathens, having some low form of nature-worship. There is abundant evidence that the life of the defenceless stranger in their land is in great jeopardy.

That the La States and the country of the wild Was will ultimately become British territory there is every reason to believe. In fact, so clearly do the La chiefs already see this, that when the Northern Shan column reached Kunlôn on the Salween, the Panthay traders from Panglôn in Someu brought messages from a number of La chieftains to the effect that they wished to come in and see the political officer. Our brief stay at Kunlôn rendered this impossible.

I have just mentioned the Panthay settlers at Panglôn in Someu. There is another settlement of them at Kyethi-Bansan, west of the Salween. The Panthay rebellion (a Panthay is a Chinese Mohammedan) took place some eighteen years ago. It was suppressed by the Chinese with merciless severity. Many Panthays then fled from Yunnan; and, said a Panglôn Panthay to me, "we dare not return." I met these Panthays on five or six occasions, and saw a good deal of them. They may be unscrupulous rascals, but they are also able and enterprising traders. Their pack-mule caravans are the best equipped, best trained, and most picturesque pack-transport I ever saw. I do not even except the pack-mules of Persia. According to the Persian and Indian system the mule is unloaded by removing the load from the saddles. With the Panthays the custom is to affix the load to the saddle. Then two Panthays raise both saddle and load, and call to the mule, which obeys the call and moves underneath the saddle. The saddle is then deposited on the back adjusted. When the load is to be removed, two Panthays unloose and raise both load and saddle. The mule moves away from underneath, and the saddle is deposited on the ground, ready to be reloaded at any moment. The loads are adjusted with exceeding neatness, and the housings and trappings and

tinkling bells are most effective. Such little trade as now crosses the Salween is in the hands of these Panthays. It is, I feel sure, to our interest to induce the Panthays to emigrate into Burma, if only as a counterpoise to the all-pervading Chinaman. These Panthays are a very pleasing contrast to the Shans. They are clean and neat in their attire, intelligent, and well-mannered. They may not be educated and enlightened from a European point of view; but they are not the men to turn their backs on education and enlightenment. As for proficiency in their own particular line, they are true chips of the old block, true brethren of "the heathen Chinese."

It is not possible to write of the Shan States without saying a word or two of the Chinese Shans. Shan-Talok the Burmans call them. In the Shan language they are known as Tai-kye, the pure Shan being Tai. The only difference between the Burmese and Chinese Shans seems to be that each has adopted the dress, manners, style, and habits of his conqueror. There are a considerable number of Chinese Shans in the Shan States formerly tributary to the Burmese monarchy. Scattered over Theinni are found Chinese Shan settlers known as Lishaws. Some, too, there are in Taungbain. Their occupation is the cultivation of opium. The finest is produced on the Lwé-sak and Lwekaw hills, at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea-level. The traveller looks aloft from the valley 3,000 feet below, and sees on the steep slopes small patches of green. These are the poppy-fields which supply the Shan with the delectable narcotic. Opium sells at Rs. 10 per vissa ($3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.) in Theinni. At Rangoon it is Rs. 200 per vissa. The land of the Shans will shortly become the paradise of opium-consumers, unless the supreme government enforces a heavy tax on opium.

There is a certain class of Chinese Shan which for years past has been in the habit of coming south from the States north of the Shwéli (Nammau) River, and seeking employment as labourers all over the Burmese and Siamese

Shan States, and in Karenni, as much as the Irish labourer swarms over to England in the harvesting season. We should seek to turn this flow of labour to Burma, where the construction of roads and railways will require a very large number of hands.

Before speaking of the political future, it is necessary to say a few words of the recent political past of the Shan States. I have before mentioned their quondam subdivision into Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and Independent Shan States. The question of the future is, where the boundaries of these several subdivisions should be fixed. All evidence tends to prove that the limits of Burmese, Chinese, and Siamese suzerainty were but vaguely defined, so much so that we find certain States doing homage and paying a nominal tribute to both China and Burma. Of course when hard-and-fast boundaries are drawn, the hitherto Independent States will have to be comprised within the territory of one or other of the suzerain Powers. As China and Siam have never hitherto displayed the keenness or vigour requisite for this task, it seems probable that the task of keeping these Independent States in order will fall on the shoulders of the civilized European Power, whose principles of government do not admit of its tolerating unruly tribes on its border. In all probability both China and Siam will be glad to see this burden on other shoulders than their own. At present the geographical knowledge of the country east of the Salween * to the Mekong or Cambodia River is so imperfectly known that it is useless to attempt to enter into details about it. A few more years of exploration will throw ample light on this subject. It may be interesting to know that the ultimate delimitation of the British, Chinese, and Siamese may perhaps leave British and French acquisitions in Indo-China separated by but a narrow strip of alien territory.

When King Theebaw was deposed, in November, 1885,

* In Chinese Lu-kyang, and in Shan Namkong.

the Shan States were in a most unsettled condition. The Thibaw Sawbwa was a refugee in or near Karenni, the Moné Sawbwa and several other chiefs were refugees at the court of the Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn (Trans-Salween), Theinni was split up into factions, severally favouring Kun San Tôn Hôn, the Nawpwa, and the Paokchok. I have mentioned them in the order which their respective powers of influence and capacity entitle them to hold. The first is the usurper, the second is the hereditary ruler, and the third is a man whom thirteen petty chiefs of Theinni elected as their head, the head of a confederacy formed for mutual protection in very troublous times.

The deposition of King Theebaw brought all the refugees at Kyaingtôn back to their States west of the Salween, and in 1886 many of them formed a confederacy around the Limbin Prince, a grandson of Mindohn Min. Certain chiefs held aloof from this confederacy. Hostilities between the two parties naturally ensued. The non-confederate chiefs were hard pressed, and turned to the British Power for support, with the result that Colonel Stedman, of the 3rd Goorkhas, was sent up with a column in January, 1887, to the southern half of the Shan plateau. By May, 1887, the Limbin Prince had surrendered, and most of the confederated chiefs, as well as the non-confederate, had come to terms with the representatives of the British Government. The Karenni chiefs who had supported the Limbin Prince held aloof. Sooner or later an understanding will have to be come to with them, but the time for that has not yet been definitely fixed. Possibly the winter of 1888-9 may be deemed suitable for it.

In the meantime the refugee Sawbwa of Thibaw had returned to his ancestral home. He had prescience enough to throw in his lot with the "Coming K——," and received in return the States of Mainlung, Thonzé, and Meungtôn, all adjoining his own. He has done very well for himself. Throughout 1887 Theinni was involved in bitter strife. There, too, a confederacy had been formed in favour of a

scion of the Burmese royal family, styled the Chaunggwa Prince. The Nawpwa and his son the Nawmeung, and the Paokchok, indirectly supported by the Sawbwa of Taungbain, formed this confederacy. Against it Kun San Tôn Hôn had to hold his own. That, with the support of the Thibaw Sawbwa, he did successfully—so much so that by the autumn of 1887 the Nawpwa was a helpless refugee among the Kakhyens, and the Nawmeung and Paokchok had submitted to the Superintendent of the Shan States.

The two columns despatched from Burma in November and December, 1887, had for their object the complete settlement of the Cis-Salween Shan States that were formerly tributary to the Kings of Burma. They were to survey and explore as a preliminary step to more extended operations. The Southern Shan Column undertook some preliminary negotiations with the representatives of Siam anent the future frontier on that side; but its invitations to the Trans-Salween Shan chiefs were not responded to. It made a peaceful progress from Fort Stedman to Moné, and thence to Meungyai in Central Theinni, where it arrived about the middle of February in the present year. In the meantime the Northern Column had brought Taungbain and Theinni (as represented by Kun San Tôn Hôn, the usurper and the man in possession) to terms. Both columns had been active in the prosecution of survey and exploration work, with the result that the Cis-Salween country has to a great extent been surveyed, and much information gained of the adjoining territories. On the 5th of March, at Meungyai, in durbar, the question of the settlement of Theinni was thus solved: (1) The former Southern Theinni to be broken up into a number of small independent states. This is simply a continuation of the *status quo ante*. (2) Central Theinni to be ruled by the Nawmeung, with the title of Sawbwa (his father the Nawpwa being now almost in his dotage), and to be known in future as Southern Theinni. (3) Northern Theinni to be ruled by Kun San Tôn Hôn, with the title of Sawbwa. The boundary between Northern and Southern

Theinni was fixed more or less in accordance with the will of the people, or at least of their representatives, the Myozas and Tamons of districts. No one will be so rash as to predict that universal peace, a millennium of the Shan States, will follow this settlement. Everybody, as usual, will hope for the best. As a matter of fact, several of the Southern States, Moné, Maukmé, and Meungpan, have just lately broken out. There will probably not be permanent peace down there until Karenni, especially in the person of the Chief of Sawlapaw, has been brought into subjection.

An article on the Shan States without some remarks on the Salween would be defective. I shall not endeavour to prove whence it comes. That subject has been well thrashed out in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. Theoretical discussions on such subjects are not interesting. Our survey parties are gradually pushing onward towards the heads of the Irrawaddy and the Salween. In a few years every doubt as to the sources of these two rivers will have been dispelled and the truth will be known. The question of practical interest in connection with the Salween is, Is it navigable or not? And now we can answer that it is not navigable. A few small boats or rafts are said now and then to run down it for short stretches, but only with great difficulty. It is useless for navigation throughout its course, except so far as steamers can ply up and down it from Moulmein. When we consider that the elevation of its channel above the sea level at Meungkeu (where is the iron bridge over it on the road from Talifu to Bhamo) and at the Kunlôn is about 2,500 feet, more or less, and that the Irrawaddy only falls some 500 feet in the whole of its course from Bamo to the seaboard near Rangoon and Bassein, it stands to reason that the rapids of the Salween must render it unnavigable. It is a grand river, with magnificent scenery, flowing in a deep gorge (all the way it would seem from Meungkeu to south of Karenni); but never will the traveller survey its beauties from the decks of an American saloon steamer. But he may get to it by rail. Mr. Colquhoun

and Mr. Holt-Hallett have struggled hard to persuade the British public that the best way of getting at Yunnan is by rail through Siam. My opinion is that the British nation wants railways through its own and not through alien territory. We shall have ample means of access to Yunnan through Burma and the British Shan States. Is it likely that Siam would favour a railway that will draw half the trade of Bangkok to the British port of Moulmein? Of course, if a few years later we like to stretch a point or two and annex Siam, why then the scheme of Messrs. Holt-Hallett and Colquhoun will wear a very different complexion. In the meantime there is no doubt that, with peace, the old trade from Yunnan and the Chinese Shan States by the ferries of the Salween and the valleys of the Taping and Shwéli will survive. A year or two will enable our civil officials to gauge the value of this trade, and our civil engineers to report on the best route for a railway from the Irrawaddy to the Salween. My impression is that an advantageous line of country may be found across the plateau that stretches northward from Theinnimyo and the Namtu valley, between the valleys of the Salween and the Shwéli, to the iron bridge at Meungkeu. But much more exploration is necessary before a definite opinion can be given on this point. During the winter of 1888-9 it is probable that some further steps will be taken towards the delimitation of the frontier between the British and Chinese Shan States, which will also admit of more extended exploration.

I think that there ought to be a fine future before the Shan country. I have already remarked on the fertility of its soil. With its cooler climate it may well become the market garden and orchard of Burma. I think that every fruit and vegetable of the temperate zone would flourish there. At present rice is almost the only grain it produces. Wheat, grain, barley, Indian corn, oats, and the grains known in India as *jowari* and *bajri*, might be tried in this region. The cultivation of those that succeed can be con-

tinued. A species of bean is already grown there. Excellent potatoes have already been raised about Pwehla and Nyaungywé. Further, the great forest resources of the country are considerable, pine and teak being the most valuable woods. Sugar, opium, cotton, tobacco, sesamum, garlic, resin, are articles already produced in the country. The system of cultivating and preparing tea in Taungbain will be improved, and the present tea-plants perhaps replaced by ones of superior quality. Of the mineral wealth little is known. The silver mines are of no account. Anyhow, no more silver is wanted in India. Iron ore is found, and wrought into dahs and spears. Sulphur and saltpetre are found locally, and used as ingredients of gunpowder. There are salt refineries. I think that, with peace, plenty and prosperity will come to the land of the Shans; and that it will be a real jewel, and not a bit of glass, in the British Crown. We may have to fight for it; but jewels are worth fighting for.

A. C. YATE.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

A SECOND disaster to the Italian arms on the Red Sea coast, following closely on Lord Napier of Magdala's pertinent question in the Upper House as to the relations existing at Massowah between Italy and Abyssinia, has again turned public attention and interest to the efforts at colonization to which Italy has of late bent herself with so much praiseworthy energy. To Englishmen, whose vast colonial enterprises have often been fraught with so many reverses, and with so much misfortune, before success was finally achieved, the struggles of another nation, between which and England there exists so strong a bond of sympathy, will be regarded with an interest not unmixed with friendly anxiety. That such should be the case is even less a matter for surprise when we come to review England's position in the question. Beyond adverting to the friendly assistance rendered by the present King Johannis of Abyssinia to the gallant peer who commanded the expedition of 1867, for the rescue of certain European prisoners in the hands of Theodore, predecessor of the present king, we need go no further back into the history of Abyssinia than 1884, when the late Admiral Sir William Hewett concluded the treaty on which hinges that feeling of hostility which has now twice found vent in acts of open warfare.

It will be remembered that the object of the Hewett mission was the relief of various bodies of Egyptian troops who were still holding out in the garrisons of Gallabat, Ghirra, Kassala, and other places, but whom it was necessary to withdraw in pursuance of the policy of evacuation

which had been declared in regard to the Soudan. To hope that these troops could cut their own way through the hosts of Arab fanatics who had so completely overthrown the power hitherto represented by the forces of Egypt, was out of the question ; to effect their relief by the active operations of British troops was beyond the scope which the Government had laid down as appertaining to England in consequence of the latter's interference in Egyptian affairs. There remained the possibility of securing the desired end through the friendly intervention of Abyssinia. Here again, however, a difficulty arose, because the embers of an old feud between the Egyptians at Massowah and the Abyssinians, still smouldered, and might burst into flame at any moment should an opportunity present ; and it was therefore necessary to propitiate King Johannis in order to induce him to give the desired aid, and right of passage through his territory to such of the troops of Egypt as might reach his borders in safety. The details of Sir William Hewett's mission, as published in the Blue Book, Abyssinia, No. 1 (1884), are interesting reading at this juncture, but space only permits us to refer to the main provisions of the treaty—the outcome of that mission—which bear directly on the question before us.

The liberal fulfilment of his obligations by King Johannis was acknowledged in 1886 by Her Majesty's Government, who despatched an officer with presents and a letter. We may therefore consider what the obligations devolving on the other contracting party were, and how far they have been fulfilled.

Article I. of the treaty guaranteed to the king " free transit through Massowah, to and from Abyssinia, for all goods, including arms and ammunition, under British protection ;" while the next article stated that " the country called Bogos shall be restored to His Majesty the Negoosa Negust, . . . and the buildings in the Bogos country which now belong to His Highness the Khedive, together with all the stores and munitions of war which shall then remain

in the said buildings, shall be delivered to, and become the property of, His Majesty the Negoosa Negust."

Scarcely had the ratification of this compact reached the king, when the occupation of Massowah by Italy took place. This occupation need not have altered the status of affairs, and indeed it seems to have been arranged between Italy and England that it should not do so, for we read in the report of Lord Salisbury's reply to Field-Marshal Lord Napier that Count Ferrari, the Italian representative at the newly occupied port, was instructed to assure the King of Abyssinia that Italy assumed all the obligations of the treaty between England and himself, and, further, would do all in her power to facilitate trade. This emphatic assumption by Italy of England's obligations undoubtedly lifted the burden of responsibility somewhat, but not entirely, from the shoulders of the latter. The share of responsibility which seems still to have devolved on England is due to the fact that England was in a measure liable for the Italian occupation of Massowah. This very important point is supported by another passage which we will select from Lord Salisbury's speech. He says that Earl Granville, who was Foreign Minister at the moment of the occupation, expressed the view "that if the Italian Government should desire to occupy some of the ports in question, it was a matter between Italy and Turkey;" but Sir John Lumley, the British Ambassador at Rome, appears to have been instructed to inform the Italian Government that "Her Majesty's Government had no objection to raise against the Italian occupation of Zoula, Beilul, or Massowah, subject always to certain conditions as to the last-named port which resulted from the provisions of our recent treaty with Abyssinia." It may be stated that it was this proviso which called forth from Italy the assurance of her intention to assume England's treaty obligations; but the proviso is here referred to only as showing that England, while concurring in the Italian occupation of Massowah, did so conditionally, and therefore without

waiving either her rights or her responsibilities in the matter. How far England might have been able to enforce her rights or carry out her responsibilities, and the extent to which other and greater political exigencies made it convenient or desirable to overlook and neglect them, are questions which the progress of events has placed outside the pale of profitable discussion, and we will therefore leave them, and look at the steps by which Italy has reached the position in which she now finds herself.

There is every ground for assuming that Italy was entirely sincere in her desires to cultivate, to their fullest extent, the best possible relations with Abyssinia; therefore her assumption of England's responsibility, and her reiterated repudiation of designs of annexation against Abyssinia, may be regarded as having been made in good faith, and with every intention of fulfilling the one and avoiding the other. In this belief, we must look for another cause of the self-evident failure of those to whom the carrying out of her Red Sea policy has been successively entrusted. This cause will be found in the inimical intervention and intrigue of the representatives of other interests, the ends of which would be well served by disruption between Italy in her colony at Massowah, and Abyssinia, since the unity of those two powers would practically exclude all others. While the two chiefly affected could be kept off it, there was room on this "Tom Tiddler's ground" for all the others.

Naturally enough, from the outset, King Johannis had been prone to regard the Italian occupation as likely to put an end to all the rewards which, under the Hewett treaty, he should reap for his very thoroughly carried out undertakings. This fear, fostered as it undoubtedly was by those whose own interests depended on the success of their interference, might have been dispelled, had Italy, after assuring the king of the integrity of her designs, proceeded to give evidence of that integrity by entering into diplomatic relations with him. But time was allowed to slip by. The

occupation took place in February, and from then until well on into April the season remained favourable for the despatch of a mission similar to those which other nations have sent to the king, and which he has therefore come to regard as usual. It was not until the following winter that there was any sign of a mission being projected. Meanwhile, in order to render the town of Massowah secure against the attacks of the neighbouring hostile Arab tribes, and even against outlawed Abyssinian bands, it had been necessary to occupy and strengthen outlying posts. News of these steps was conveyed to the king, and he was encouraged to regard them as encroachments having for their eventual object the invasion of his own territory proper ; for the posts referred to either were not on territory claimed by him, or were on ground which had long been a bone of contention between Abyssinia and successive Turkish and Egyptian rulers of Massowah. His own inherent fears, and the unexplained movements of the Italians, so acted on the king as to render it doubtful whether he would favourably receive the mission which in the winter of 1885-6 was being formed under General Pozzolini at Massowah. The desire of the Italian Government to bespeak a favourable reception for its envoy, and a successful issue to his mission, led to further delays, consequent on the necessity for the exchange of preliminary visits by officers of less rank, and on the slow passage of correspondence. The approach to negotiation was also rendered more difficult by the rumours which, as part of the machinery of intrigue, now actively in motion, were reaching Ras Alula, the king's generalissimo, of the same encroachments towards the frontier of Abyssinia.

Then again, the non-fulfilment of certain articles of the Hewett treaty was rankling in the minds of the Abyssinians. At the time of which we are now speaking this was probably capable of explanation, as the following examples will tend to show. Taking the first article of the treaty, the king complained that the passage of a certain consignment of

arms through Massowah had been stopped by the order of the Italian Commandant, and that duty was still levied on other goods passing through the port. With regard to the arms, the fault seems to have rested with the contractors, who had promised to supply the goods by a certain date. They were unable to fulfil their contract, and by way of screening their own default they caused the king to be informed that the arms had been confiscated and were in the custody of the Italians. As to the duty imposed on goods, it may be remembered that Lord Salisbury recently stated that free transit was not understood to mean free of duty, but free of restriction. This reading, convenient as it may now be, would seem not to have been the one on which the Italians were acting during 1885 and 1886, for General Pozzolini only represented that the duty was the same which had all along been imposed by Egypt, and that it had not been taken off by Italy, when she replaced the former power at Massowah, because no request that it should be removed had been received from Abyssinia. The natural inference, therefore, is that goods would be relieved of duty, conformably with the provisions of the treaty, on application being made. The pursuance of such a course would have removed outright one cause of complaint, had it been necessary to go so far ; but it is more than probable that the king and his merchants would not have objected to the payment of a fair duty towards the expenses of a port which even the Abyssinians could not expect to be kept up, chiefly for their benefit, at the expense of Italy. This view would appear to be well supported by the fact of the king having at first made it a *sine quâ non* that a schedule of duties should be included in the treaty, which condition he finally consented to waive.

These details all pointed strongly to the desirability, even necessity, of the Italians establishing relations, both political and commercial, directly with the king, for, in the absence of any such direct intercourse, the field was left open to the intrigues of the other parties

already referred to, and this alone is sufficient to account for all the misunderstandings leading up to, and culminating in, the two conflicts which have resulted in so much misfortune to the arms of Italy, and in the present state of affairs. The recall of the Pozzolini mission and the decision of the Italian Government not to supply its place in the following winter, was to the Abyssinians a certain confirmation of the sinister designs which intrigue imputed to Italy. The tension in the relations between the two had been steadily increasing from the moment of the occupation of Massowah until the battle of Dogali, which may be attributed directly to the occupation of Sahaati by Italian troops.

This occupation was certain to irritate the Abyssinians to an extent which, it must have been known, would render the chances of an amicable settlement more remote. The same post had been the subject of open conflict between the Negus and the Egyptians in 1883, and though the Abyssinian claim to it probably rested on rights, which some years of non-occupation had caused to lapse, it had always been regarded as a point beyond which any advance on the part of the occupants of Massowah could only mean invasion of Abyssinian territory. It is not our purpose here to discuss with whom the immediate responsibility for the battle of Dogali rests; it was probably the result of a combination of injudicious policy on the part of the Italians, and of undue precipitancy on the part of Ras Alula, or his officers, acting without the authority of King Johannis. The battle is only referred to as a link in the chain of circumstances leading up to the present state of affairs.

The defeat sustained by Italy necessitated the despatch of a costly expedition, having for its object the re-establishment of Italian prestige, on terms which were not hard, and which, it may be granted, were obtained; though they did not result in any tangible benefit to Italy so far as progress in her scheme of civilization or colonization was concerned. The object of the expedition being considered as attained,

the main body of the troops was withdrawn, and the force was reduced to the limits necessary as a garrison for Massowah and its outposts.

We will now for a moment revert to the early days of the occupation and look into another cause of friction. The author of this was the chief named Debbub. This person was an outlawed relative of the king, who having committed a series of depredations against Abyssinian commerce in the neighbourhood of Massowah, was made a prisoner by Admiral Hewett in 1884, and sent to Cairo to be kept there out of mischief. The extradition article of the Hewett treaty was aimed at Debbub and others of a kindred spirit, who had long been thorns in the Abyssinian side. However, the restrictions placed on Debbub while a prisoner in Cairo, deprived him of all opportunity of behaving ill—his particular weakness being razzias against his neighbours' property—and for his good behaviour he was liberated and allowed to return to the scenes of his former exploits. As a precautionary measure he was, however, provided with a letter to be delivered to the Governor of Massowah, requesting that official to keep him within the town, and away from companions who might lead him into the mischief to which he was by nature and training only too prone. But Debbub, who seems, in addition to his other idiosyncrasies, to have been devoid of business-like habits, omitted, on landing, to deliver this letter—this warrant for his incarceration—to the official to whom it was addressed. Such an amend for his oversight as came within his reach, he made, for when he was some distance outside Massowah, he met a native to whom he deputed the duty of carrying the letter to Mason Bey, the governor. The steps taken on the receipt of the letter were wanting, not in promptitude, but in success; and Debbub remained at large.

We do not know whether the details of this little episode were known to the king, but the result caused him considerable annoyance, and formed the subject of another complaint against the Italians, though they were in nowise responsible

for it so far. It was not long, however, before Debbub became a factor in their affairs. Either in ignorance of his relations with the king, or because he was regarded as likely to be a useful ally, he was allowed gradually to creep into the good graces and, what suited him more, the pay of the Italians. At first, that is to say in the early part of 1886, he seems to have had only stealthy access to Arkiko, and indeed at this time he was actually hunted over his native sands, and through his native covert, by small bodies of Italian infantry. Later he succeeded in establishing himself as a recognized ally of Italy, by whom he, and the followers whom he raised, were armed and equipped. Doubtless, while in the mood, he rendered good service to his foster countrymen, and seemed to be giving a satisfactory contradiction to the insinuations of untrustworthiness, which those who professed to know his character ventured to make against him. Considerations, into which it would not profit us to inquire, induced him to renew his allegiance to King Johannis, by whom his humble supplications for pardon were granted. Of course he brought his followers, with their arms and ammunition, with him, and laid them all at the feet of his sovereign relative.

The returned prodigal appears now to have been reinstated, and returning towards the coast in his new capacity, he occupied a village from which it was deemed necessary by the Italians that he should be dislodged. As usual, reports on the subject appear somewhat contradictory, but it seems pretty certain that the Italians, assisted by some "friendlies," and further by some miscellaneous levies, hastily recruited *en route* from the Assaorta tribe, succeeded in driving Debbub out of the village. The triumph of the Italian arms was short-lived, for the scratch Assaorta crew, actuated no doubt throughout by the chance of plunder, now turned against their new-found comrades and slew of them 350, including four or five Italian officers, the men being Bashi Bazouks, or irregulars composed heterogeneously of Arabs, Abyssinians, Nubians, &c. In

the dealings of civilized people with semi-barbarians, if there is one danger greater than another, that danger is intrigue; and if any warning be needed to prevent an unwarranted confidence being placed in natives who have no interest to serve higher than their own desire for plunder, such a warning may be found in the experiences of the Italians in connection with the native allies under Debbub, and of the Assaorta tribe. It may not be long before additional experience will be gained in regard to the Habab tribe, under its wavering and intriguing chief Hamed.

At this point the absolute necessity for direct intercourse between Italy and Abyssinia again obtrudes itself upon our notice, and again the conviction presents itself that such an intercourse, established during the early days of the Italian occupation of Massowah, would have precluded the possibility of such mischief as has been wrought by the interference of interested intriguers.

Before turning to discuss the general question of England's responsibility for the performance of British obligations by Italy, it will be well to consider the danger with which Abyssinia is now threatened in regard to her possession of the Bogos district. This province, it will be remembered, was restored to Abyssinia, as the most valuable portion of the king's reward for rescuing, from certain garrisons, troops to whom the treaty only bound him to afford succour while on the march through his own territory. The possession is one of great value to Abyssinia, as it adjoins that country, is very fertile, and contains several places of importance; but it is now coveted by the Italians, who are said to require it as a sanitary station to which troops suffering from the effects of the heat of Massowah, and the low-lying stations around it, may be sent to recruit their health. If this be their only reason for desiring to annex the district, the object would be attained by a compromise to which the King of Abyssinia might be induced to assent.

The town of Keren, at an elevation of nearly 5,000 feet, affords all that is necessary for the establishment of a sanitarium. Of course, troops sent there, while it remained Abyssinian territory, would be sent without their arms, and under a guarantee of protection from the king, which would be readily granted. At this moment, and with relations in their present state, this plan would not be feasible, but on the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse there would be no insuperable objection to it. On page 12 of the Blue Book relating to Mr. Portal's mission, we find that the occupation of the region of Senhit by Italy, in accord with England, was one of the conditions on which the Italian Government would have consented to renew political relations with Abyssinia. The other conditions, had it not been for the unfortunate mischief wrought by false report as to further Italian advances, as related on page 32 of the same Blue Book, would probably have been accepted, and their acceptance might have been, by the exercise of some generosity on the part of Italy, considered as sufficient to justify a further step towards the opening up of negotiations. But such a demand as the surrender of a fertile and valuable region, which had so recently been restored to him by treaty in return for services entailing much hard fighting and the loss of many hundreds of lives, was hardly a condition which should have been imposed under the sanction of the very country whose protectorate had received the benefits of the services for which the cession of the Bogos district was part of the price. It is therefore no matter for wonder that the arduous and dangerous mission, carried out by Mr. Portal with all possible skill and courage, did not meet with the success which it merited. The Marquis of Salisbury gave it as his opinion that Her Majesty's engagement in respect of that territory was entirely fulfilled when it was handed over to the king, since there was no stipulation as to its possession being under British protection. According to the letter of the treaty, there is no room to gainsay this opinion, but a reflection on

the circumstances surrounding the matter, and a consideration of England's indebtedness to King John, first for his assistance to the expedition of 1868, and later for the services rendered in extricating the interned Soudan garrisons, will cause Englishmen to hope that a further opportunity may yet present itself for our country to exercise a beneficent influence in bringing about a peaceful solution of the question, even though one offer of mediation has failed. Be that as it may, England's responsibility for the free transit of goods under British protection must remain intact, until that responsibility shall have been formally shifted to the shoulders of the power occupying Massowah. This formal transfer cannot be considered complete on a mere assurance of assumption by another power; it must be followed up by evidence of *bonâ fide* intention, and this, either for lack of opportunity, or on account of circumstances for which Italy's policy must be held mainly responsible, has not so far been done.

The Abyssinian feeling on this question as a whole, can be fairly gauged by the letter of King Johannis to the Queen, which will be found on the first page of the "Correspondence respecting Mr. Portal's Mission." In this letter, the king first quotes the terms of the Hewett treaty, and then points out the extent to which they have been neglected. The difficulty about Debbub probably exists no longer now that that firebrand has renewed his allegiance to Abyssinia; but there is no doubt that in Debbub's adoption of the Italian cause the king had a well-founded grievance, not only against Italy, but also against England, who was responsible for Debbub's freedom contrary to the provisions of Article V. of Admiral Hewett's treaty, which dealt with the surrender of criminals who had fled from the justice of the countries whose laws they had outraged.

Johannis appeals to England to consider the vicissitudes through which his army had passed to secure the liberation of the Egyptian garrisons. Here again his claim is a strong one, and though the services rendered by him

were handsomely acknowledged by the despatch of an envoy bearing presents and letters from the Queen, this can hardly be considered as a substitute for the due performance of our promises.

The disputes as to the occupation of territory present greater complications, on account of the difficulty of adjudicating on the claims made, both by Italy as the successor of Egypt, and Abyssinia. Such an adjudication would entail a consideration of the history of the territories for many years, covering a period during which Massowah and the districts surrounding it have been successively under the sway of Turkey, Egypt, England, and Italy, with intervals of anarchy. The Queen's reply (on page 4 of the Portal Blue Book) does not deal categorically with the points raised in the king's letter, and the false reports which reached the king while Mr. Portal was with him, seem to have precluded that gentleman from doing so, even had it been possible to explain away the points on which Johannis considered himself aggrieved; but on pages 37 and 38 we have before us a letter from the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in London which makes out a strong case from an Italian point of view. With regard to Signor Catalani's defence of the occupation of Sahaati, on the grounds that Italy had only continued what Egypt had begun, it may be stated that the erection of huts at Sahaati, while Admiral Hewett was with the king, very nearly brought about a signal failure of that officer's mission; this, however, was overcome on assurances being given that the huts were only for the accommodation of the members of the mission on their return to the coast, and that the irregulars who were in the huts were to act as an escort for the mission between Sahaati and the coast, the intervening districts being overrun with dangerous bands of outlaws. The same argument of Egyptian precedent is advanced in regard to the continuance of taxation on goods; here, again, no doubt is cast on the interpretation of the term "free transit," and the same reference may be drawn from Signor Catalani's words as was drawn from

General Pozzolini's, already alluded to, namely, that the taxes would be removed on application to that effect being made. As to the import of arms exceeding the limits desired by King Johannis, it is evident that, while the king at one time complained with reason that his own requirements were not complied with, he might also be a sufferer to a very considerable extent by the unrestricted supply of arms and ammunition to his subjects; and though no stipulation on this point appears in the treaty of 1884, it was understood by the representatives of all three contracting powers that arms should only be passed into the country on the written permit of the King or Ras Alula. That this understanding, though unwritten, is accepted by Italy, is evident from Signor Catalani's reference to the minute precautions taken at Massowah to reconcile the terms of the treaty with the requirements of public safety, by insisting that the arms imported should be really sent to the Negus, or the Governor of the Tigre—Ras Alula. In this matter also, Italy's policy appears perfectly reasonable, and even very satisfactory, so far as the conduct of her officials is concerned, but they are powerless to prevent roguery on the part of the importers, who may have found means to consign the arms to persons other than those for whom they were ostensibly intended.

Reviewing the arguments on both sides of the three questions relating respectively to the occupation of Sahaati, the taxation of imports and exports, and the import of arms and ammunition, it appears highly probable that much of the dispute on these points is due to misunderstandings between the contending parties, heightened, if not caused, by misrepresentations on the part of the outside parties, so frequently hitherto alluded to. The remedy against this, when such a course was practicable, was direct communication between Italy and Abyssinia, through the medium of a representative mission from the former. If the reasons which militated against this course were then considered strong enough to justify, or necessitate, its abandonment, subse-

quent events must surely now have demonstrated the nature of the error ; and though those events have rendered the course recommended out of the question for some time past, and do so at the present moment, Italy may, in spite of the failure of the Portal Mission, yet find the opportunity for approaching negotiation with a view to profiting by her possession of Massowah.

Putting aside, for the moment, the desirability of re-establishing Italy's prestige, and regarding only the question of the commercial value of Massowah, it will be obvious that that port is not capable of producing a revenue which would compensate a nation for the expense of maintaining it, when its maintenance entails the presence of a large body of troops. The very conditions involving such a necessity preclude that flow of trade which alone could render the possession of the port anything but a burden on the resources of the country occupying it ; and Italy can afford neither the men, nor the money, necessary to keep the town and its environs in a perpetual state of defence against the very people to whose commerce she must look to recoup her the expense of holding the place even as a very scantily defended commercial port.

Coming now to a consideration of her prestige, Italy has sustained two very heavy blows in the battle of Dogali, and in the recent defeat of her Bashi Bazouk irregulars under Italian officers. Granting that due satisfaction to her national honour was achieved, as a result of the expedition of last winter, so far as her European neighbours are concerned, it cannot be claimed that such is the case in the eyes of the Abyssinians, or of the various tribes inhabiting the districts adjacent to Massowah. At the moment of writing, her intentions as to the steps to be taken for her vindication in consequence of the recent reverse sustained by her arms, have not been declared ; but in view of the very generally expressed dissatisfaction with the cost, and the want of tangible result, of her last expedition, the cabinet of Rome will probably consider very seriously the inadvisability of

again adopting similar measures. The country will not be wrought to the same pitch of exasperation by the loss of 350 native soldiers as she was by the destruction of a greater number of her own troops, nor, if active operations be decided on, will she be content that those operations should be confined to a show of strength. Some tangible compensation will be demanded in the form of subjugated or annexed territory, practically an invasion of Abyssinia. Indeed it is difficult to see what steps short of this can at once be regarded as vindication of Italian honour, and compensation for the blood already spilt, and the money already spent, on the Red Sea coast. The circumstances connected with her recent reverse may be such as to absolve the King of Abyssinia from responsibility in the matter, and in this case Debbub may become the scapegoat and fall between the two stools on which he has of late been sitting alternately; for it does not appear that he acted under the instructions of the king, and his unauthorized precipitation may be the cause of breaking down the screen which has obscured the intentions of Italy from the Abyssinians, and *vice versâ*. That such may be the case will be the devout hope of all who wish Italy well in the mission of civilization which she undoubtedly desired to carry out side by side with her policy of colonization. For reasons of importance in the politics of Europe, England will rank first among Italy's friends; but beyond this, as we have shown, this country should find in her undischarged obligations to Abyssinia other considerations to impel her to assist in bringing about a termination of the quarrel. We may therefore echo the sentiments of the Marquis of Salisbury that we are—in spite of the futility of the Portal mission—as anxious to prevent the collision of Italy and Abyssinia as ever we were; and Englishmen will accept hopefully, and with satisfaction, the noble lord's assurance that any opportunity which is likely to facilitate the restoration and maintenance of peace and friendship will be gladly seized by Her Majesty's Government.

F. HARRISON SMITH.

THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

EDITED BY EDWARD SALMON.

PART II.—CALCUTTA TO PATNA.

THE run across the Indian Ocean presents no feature of unusual interest, and the Bishop's remarks are concerned chiefly with gratitude for the prosperous voyage which he and his fellow-passengers had enjoyed. Having anchored in Diamond Harbour a day or two previously, Dr. Turner writes to his sisters from Government House, on December 11, 1829 :—

“Yesterday, at a good hour, we got into the steamboat to proceed up the river ; the passage was very agreeable. It was a lovely day, not hot enough to render the deck unpleasant, and the tide favouring us in all respects, it aided our progress while it kept the river quite full. The Hoogley narrows very suddenly a little above Diamond Harbour, and presents few objects of interest for those who are familiar with Bengal, but to us every group of houses, every fishing-boat, every wood and jungle, became matter for curiosity. About noon, near Budge Budge, we were hailed from the steamboat *Hoogley*, coming down the river, with an inquiry whether the Bishop of Calcutta was on board, as the Archdeacon had come to meet him. We brought to a little higher up, and Archdeacon Corrie came on board with Mr. Abbott, the registrar of the diocese. The Archdeacon is quite what one would desire him to be in aspect and manners. When I had introduced him to our party, he invited me to accompany him on board his boat,

which the Governor-General had placed at my disposal. We proceeded forthwith up the river, and very striking is the appearance which the City of Palaces presents when first seen from the water. So at least I have reason to believe, but I was so deeply engrossed in conversation with the Archdeacon, that I had but a very imperfect vision of objects around me. We came to near the Government House landing-place, when one of the State barges received us. The Archdeacon's carriage was in waiting, and I went directly to Government House, where I was received in a very kind and pleasant manner by Lord and Lady Bentinck. I then went to call upon Mr. Corrie, with whom I continued till about three o'clock; then put on my robes, went, again in the Archdeacon's carriage, to the cathedral, where I was in due time installed at evening prayers, and as Bishop of Calcutta pronounced the blessing in the presence of about two hundred people. My time at this moment will serve, dears, only to record facts, not feelings, or I could dwell much and deeply on the ten thousand which then pressed upon me; suffice it to say that I was deeply impressed though not excited.

"I returned to Government House, where for the present my abode will be, and had a good plunge into business till seven o'clock, when a large party were assembled to dinner. It would have amused you not a little to have seen me proceed in state from my own room in one wing of these huge courts and corridors to the saloon preceded by the State servants, who, by the kind *prévoyance* of the Archdeacon, were in attendance as necessary appendages of my public station. They consist of a 'Jemautdar,' who is a sort of 'Groom of the Chambers'; two 'Chobdars' with huge silver staves, and two 'Sotabadars' with huge clumsy-looking clubs of silver, twisted in 'antic' or 'antique' forms, and these worthies marshalled themselves in front with all the solemnity of scene-shifters in a tragedy, and certainly since I saw 'Blue Beard' on the stage I have never witnessed anything quite like it. Our party

was large, and, of course, formal. I thought often of my visit at the Cape, and felt convinced that a second Lady Frances Cole would not easily be met with either in a Government House or elsewhere. The party retired early, and I was not sorry to find myself in a firm untossed sleeping place. I discovered all sorts of means and appliances to face out annoyances ; and was soon hushed by buzzing night flies to my slumbers, from which I have started before dawn to write this. It will probably go this morning. Your letters of July the 25th were awaiting me, and have taught me all at once what it is to receive letters in India. How very delightful ! How very painful ! It gratifies in many points all one's wishes ; yet at the same time excites as many wishes as it gratifies ; it is pleasant to know much, and yet one is wild to know more. . . . I have only one caution to give ; do not believe, and do not allow any friends to believe, any babble they may hear of my doings or intentions, unless it is given under my hands. The absurd stories which deluge this town would astonish you."

On February 24th, 1830, the Bishop writes to his sisters :

"I cannot allow the 24th of February [his forty-fourth birthday] to pass by without writing specially to my two sisters, and assuring them of my unalterable love and affection, which the lapse of every succeeding year serves only to strengthen and confirm. It may perhaps sometimes come into your minds that amid the bustle of public business, and especially under that feeling of novelty and importance which cannot but attach to my present occupations, I may become unmindful of you, my dearest dears, and of all the kindness and love I have received from you. But dismiss this thought whenever it arises, and be assured that in my hours of solitude (and in an Indian life many hours must be passed in solitude) no thought is so constantly present with me as that which connects itself with you and yours. You will have had many opportunities of hearing about me, and all will have agreed in telling you how

well I am, how kindly the climate has treated me hitherto, and with how little inconvenience I get through my public business. The fact is, the actual work is not considerable. The Bishop of Chester has to do more real work in a week than I have to do in a month ; it is the climate which makes a little exertion so much thought of here—this and the ‘ostensibleness’ (if there is such a word) of everything one engages in. We live under a never sleeping superintendence of newspapers, whose editors are generally misinformed and always uncharitable. With reference to every measure there are two bitter parties ; so whether you do a thing or let it alone you are sure to be censured. This is fortunate, as it leads one to go ever on and care for neither.

“My intentions for the future stand thus : I shall go down to Madras as early as I can after Easter ; probably at the end of June. In that Presidency I shall continue until the north-west monsoon begins—about the middle of October. The Bombay Government will then send down a vessel to meet me at Cananore—this is the fair season on that coast—and I may hope to be in Bombay in December. I have requested that all my letters be despatched in duplicate both to Calcutta and Bombay. Some of them will contain what the authorities at home say to my coming to England early in 1831, to assist in making a permanent settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. Should they accede to this I shall hope to sail direct from Bombay without returning to Calcutta. Should they discountenance the proposal I have made, I should take advantage of the cold season to return through the heart of India, either northward, so as to include Delhi and Meerut, or by a more direct route so as to come up to the Ganges about Murzepoor or Allahabad. In the former case I should stay in the Upper Provinces during the hot season ; in the latter I might reach Calcutta about February.”

The Bishop’s plans were eventually entirely altered. Instead of starting for Madras, he followed to some extent

Bishop Heber's earlier pilgrimages, and his Journal is resumed "on leaving Calcutta for the Upper Provinces."

"*Sunday, June 20, 1830.* Having taken my usual share in the public services of this day, by preaching a closing lecture on the miracles at the early service at the cathedral, and again at eleven to the interesting assembly of Christian friends in the chapel at my own house, I set off about half-past five in the afternoon, with my excellent friend Mr. W. W. Bird, of Barrackpore. The Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie had gone forward on Saturday evening that he might perform his usual duties, to which for months past he has sedulously devoted himself, by undertaking the chaplain's duty at Barrackpore, during Mr. H. Fisher's absence on leave in the Upper Provinces. He has, with great pains and care, met and nursed up, if I may so speak, a congregation, at an evening service in the cantonment, in addition to the stated morning service at Government House. The beginning seemed inauspicious. The friends of religion were few and cold; its enemies numerous and angry, and with them came 'mockers' who tried to laugh away, not devotion only but even mere decency. The Archdeacon, however, kept his quiet even course, and has the comfort of seeing that promise fulfilled which He who cannot deceive gave of old to 'the patient abiding of the meek.' The service is now numerously attended, and amongst the congregation are several earnest inquirers after Divine truth.

"Our boats had been sent forward from Calcutta, and I had appointed Barrackpore as a gathering-place for the whole party. I must begin by enumerating the individuals of whom that party consists, for though there is a feeling of absurdity which attaches to the act of sitting down to make out a catalogue of those persons with whom we are in daily converse, yet, as I write for others—for, be it remembered, I disclaim the imputation under which journalists must be content to lie, of being under the influence of a large measure of self-esteem—such a catalogue is necessary. If

I consulted my own taste and feelings, sufficient for the day would be the evil or the good thereof. Neither the one nor the other should find a chronicler in me. But this, like many other indulgences, would be very selfish whilst there are those who take an interest in anything that befalls me. In this, as in all other things, I fall short of my predecessor: he had a definite concentrated object in preserving memorials of his travels, for they were written to meet the eye of her with whom his heart was shared. I once (alas! for how short a time) * knew what a blessing there is in and upon such a state of feeling.

‘But in the darksome grave ’tis laid,
And I must not repine.’

Thanks be to God, I do not repine in the censurable acceptation of the word. Sorrow, but not without hope, is my abiding companion; but, amongst other perceptible benefits to the spirit, it furnishes a standard by which everything earthly may be tried and esteemed at its own value. When I knelt by my dear Louisa’s dying bed, my prayer was that the days of my appointed time might not be prolonged beyond the period of fitness for useful labour. The opportunity of labouring usefully has been given to me in a measure most unlooked for, and to an extent which no human thought can calculate in its results.

“Our fleet will be made up of two pinnaces. That in which I make the voyage is of considerable dimensions, one cabin of which I intend to use as a general dining-room. A small pinnacle conveys the Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie. A budgerow, a light, roomy kind of boat, excellently adapted for river sailing, is charged with two young friends—Edward Thornton, who is on his way to Barrackpore; and a young engineer officer, Lieut. Durand, consigned to my care by the Bishop of Carlisle, but commending himself

* Dr. Turner had enjoyed only a few months’ married happiness when his wife was taken from him.

far beyond any other commendation by his character and talents. A second budgerow conveys my medical friend, Mr. Spiers, whom, at my request, the Government have appointed to accompany me through the whole progress; and a friend of his, and of our whole party, Lieut. Sherer, who has lately received an appointment at Monghir, and takes this opportunity of going. A third budgerow, of much less seemly aspect and much slower in movement, is fraught with the Archdeacon's assistant-translator and some three or four Moonshees, together with a native writer for my behalf. These constitute the 'fleet proper.' As appendages we have a cook boat and baggage boat attached to ours; a cook boat to each of the others, and Thornton has a horse boat. There is another young officer on his way to Meerut, who will probably move with us on the passage, in an independent budgerow; so that when mustered we stand thus: two pinnaces, four budgerows, eight attendant boats—and these are by no means too many for our party. Everything in India is accomplished by force of numbers, and as we have many things to be attended to, the crowd of followers is not inconsiderable. When our arrangements were completed, I received a communication from the adjutant-general that the commander-in-chief had ordered a small party of sepoy to attend us as an escort, and these must be stowed away somewhere or other, or I must secure a separate boat for their conveyance. Our party drank tea with Mrs. Corrie on board their pinnace, and separated under orders to set out at daybreak.

"*June 21st.* At daybreak we were under weigh, having fixed Barrackpore for the point of starting. I thought it better to take for granted that our whole party would be ready, but as soon as we were able to discover remote objects, I saw that the Archdeacon's pinnace and Thornton's budgerow were the only vessels in company. As I had some business to detain me at Chinsurah, I determined to make that the place of rendezvous, and to wait for the stragglers. We arrived soon after ten. One by one our

little fleet was mustered, so that we might have gone forward in the afternoon with a favouring tide, but the church was undergoing repairs, and it was necessary to inspect it; and, moreover, there is a little charity project connected with Chinsurah which, though now doubtful and in appearance insignificant, may be nursed into something considerable. Some years ago an old lady, by name Yates, left a piece of ground of some value, with a large, dilapidated house upon it, as 'a place to bury strangers in.' In some of the transfers of public property it came into Government hands, and they placed it at the disposal of the Bishop for charitable purposes. Bishop Heber had some designs respecting it, which, however, were found too costly, and nothing has since been done. My purpose is to scrape together what may be made by the sale of the old materials, and with this as a 'nest egg' endeavour to hatch a project, or rather a brood of projects, which are much in my mind for establishing an agricultural free school—that is, a school wherein the boys may be exercised in field labour, in addition to the ordinary instruction. My theory is that if their labour is well ordered it will do more than maintain them. If, therefore, I can get the buildings necessary—and they will be neither large nor costly—and persuade the Government to transfer an allowance they already give to support a school in Chinsurah as a salary for the master, I think we can begin with much prospect of advantage. A very excellent man, who was a functionary under the Dutch Government and now has an appointment in the local magistracy, undertakes to be my agent in the management of these matters, and with him, therefore, I am desirous to have an opportunity for conversation. The superintendent of the works (Capt. Bell) met me at the ghat, the chaplain being absent on leave for his health.

"Chinsurah has lost all traces of its ancient governors the Dutch. The last remains of their fort, which was of considerable size, have recently been demolished, and their church, a small, well-built structure, is undergoing material

alteration. It will, however, be too small for the wants of the station, which is likely to become not only a place of *depôt* for the troops newly arrived, but probably a permanent quarter for at least one regiment. The new barracks are extensive, indeed they may be called magnificent, and when some old Dutch buildings are taken away—a work rapidly in progress—there will be a *place d'armes* open to the river, and formed by two ranges of barracks and a noble military hospital unequalled, I am told, in India, and not surpassed in Europe. The Parade Ground at Cape Town is the only thing of the kind I have ever seen to compare with it.

“Our evening walk was very refreshing, and we returned on board to dinner—I, for one, most thoroughly tired and sleepy, for I had lost my rest on Sunday night through the annoyance of cockroaches, which came upon me in numbers as though they had resolved on a combined effort to pull me out of bed.

“*Tuesday, 22nd.* We were under sail at daybreak, and, the south wind still favouring, made our way steadily and with reasonable speed against a strong ebb-tide. Passed Hoogley, a delightful spot, happily chosen for a residence by Mr. W. Nelli, the collector, and Mr. Smith, the magistrate of the district, a most active and intelligent public servant. I have reason to be obliged by his attention, though its object was thwarted by the indolent perverseness of the native character. He had exerted himself to procure a boat large enough to receive our whole sepoy suite, and sent it to Chinsurah, where it arrived in due time, but it was nobody's special duty to let me know it was there. So they suffered us to go forward without a word of information on the subject, until the evening when the fact was imparted to me.

“We passed by Bandel, also, where there is a spacious and well-built Portuguese church, now, like everything else connected with that establishment, hastening to decay. It must be a sorry sight to witness the decay of a Christian

Church in India under any circumstances, but nothing that I have ever heard of the Portuguese will make me desirous of securing their prosperity or perpetuity. The euthanasia of their Establishment would be its absorption in the Church of England. This process is, I trust, in Calcutta at least, rapidly going forward. If the locality of Bandel were more convenient, it might very possibly be purchased, or at any rate rented. One village on the bank, named Chogdah, demands notice as the residence of a community such as could be found only in Bengal. It appears that of the persons exposed by the relatives on the banks of the Ganges, a proportion, and it is said not a small proportion, are survivors, but as they are regarded as legally and socially dead, their revived existence gives them no claim to support; nor, indeed, will their nearest kindred hold intercourse with them. These wretched people find shelter at Chogdah, where they have established a community of 'outcasts.' It was thought that a preservation so remarkable, and a situation and mode of life so much at variance with all around them, would have the effect of rendering them more accessible to missionary exertion, but the several experiments which have from time to time been made have all proved unsuccessful. They obstinately resist all teaching, and thus afford one example more that the gospel and its blessed influence may be hid to thousands who live in 'worldly-minded poverty,' as well as those who rejoice in 'worldly-minded affluence.' It is poorness in spirit, not poverty or even destitution of worldly advantages, which must gain the blessedness.

"At four o'clock we brought to at Culna, where I had intended to visit a set of schools in charge of a catechist employed by the Church Missionary Society: it proved, however, to be a holiday season, and the boys were away. The Archdeacon brought the catechist, Mr. Alexander, to see me. He has been stationed here about four or five months, and seems to have made good his ground. He has a little medical knowledge, which he has turned to good account.

One or two cases of great apparent difficulty have procured him much renown. But the most remarkable fact he mentioned was, that three high-caste Brahmins have lately consented to allow him to bleed them, and have expressed great thankfulness for the benefit derived from it. When he first came to Culna not one of them would have allowed himself to be touched by the Christians. Even accidental contact would have been defilement.

"As there was no object to be gained by remaining, I did not go ashore, but had full leisure to contemplate from the river this thoroughly Bengal village-town, as it might be called, in reference to its importance as the principal entrepôt for all the productions of the fertile district of Burdwan on their passage to Calcutta. Cotton, rice, sugar, and indigo are the staples which are embarked here on board the strange-looking river craft in such vast numbers. It seemed strange that there was not a single ghat for the convenience of landing either passengers or merchandise, nor could I distinguish a single 'Pucka' (for so they call brick and mortar edifices) in the whole town. In the midst of a large straggling village called Amboura, about two coss further, there was a huge mansion, intended to be stately, according to native notions of stateliness, belonging, as we were told, to the Rajah of Burdwan—an individual whose name is synonymous throughout this part of India with wealth, avarice, and oppression.

"We brought to for the night at about six o'clock, opposite to a large indigo factory called Mirzapoores. Our young men crossed the river to visit it, and were most kindly received by the proprietor, a Calcutta gentleman, who happened to be there. This is the beginning of the season for saving the crop and carrying through the process of preservation—a period of much interest to the planter, who has probably all his own money, and every rupee he could succeed in borrowing, staked on the issue of years of labour and skill. This is a general remark, and has no separate reference to the proprietor of Mirzapoores, though it would

seem his interests cannot be of trifling magnitude, as he spoke of one party of 1400 coolies on one side of the river and of another of 900 on the other side, now actually engaged in weeding. The vast tract of land devoted to the cultivation of indigo surprises me greatly. Since we passed the Hoogley we have skirted miles of low meadowland with this crop now in a state for cutting. The favourite places are those which have recently been left by the alteration of the course of the river. Those under the name of churrs are regarded as most valuable possessions, and in them the best indigo is produced; but all the lowland adjoining the river is more or less suitable, and all under cultivation.

“There is no inquiry of greater interest at this moment than the state and prospects of the indigo factories. We may venture to look beyond the mere commercial and terrestrial advantages, and regard them as possible—I wish I could with confidence say as probable—channels for the diffusion of Christian civilization. In noting this possibility here I am influenced by the general opinion, but I am bound to say the peculiar circumstances of their position being allowed for, there is nothing in the authentic reports of those indigo planters which had yet reached me to justify us in placing them low when compared with other classes of men who have been engaged as pioneers of civilization. They are much better than the Dutch Boers at the Cape, and not much worse than outlying settlers in American woods. They have to maintain a struggle surrounded by forms of social life at once the most corrupt and complicated. It would, I conceive, be impossible to convey any ideas of the fraud, dishonesty, reckless disregard of anything that wears the semblance of obligation, further than they are every day exemplified by Bengal Domindars, and their auxiliaries, the Gomadars; a race of men of freedom and character scarcely known among us, unless they may be described as the middle men of Ireland under the most odious circumstance of aggravation.

“Our position for the night was chosen, not by any fore-

thought of the serang, but by happy chance, on the weather side of an indigo field. Consequently we were in some measure free from the plague of insects, though it must be allowed the boat's cabin during dinner would have afforded no contemptible opportunity of improvement to the practical entomologist. Our young friends had brought a report that the Bagerothi branch of the river is still impracticable. We shall get more precise information at Nuddea, where the branches separate. It will cause a considerable alteration in my plans if we are forced to go up the Jellinghi.

" *Wednesday, 23rd.* We were again in motion before sunrise, and with some anxiety repeated to the crews of the several boats we met descending the river our inquiries as to the state of the water above. All the answers were discouraging, and when we reached Nuddea it became necessary to make an absolute decision. We brought to, therefore, and the Archdeacon sent the serang of his pinnace up to the town, which stands at some distance from the present course of the stream, to make inquiries of the Thannadar. The report he brought us back was decisive. The water was scanty throughout the whole of the Bagerothi, and at one place we should find less than a cubit. As this would be insufficient even for the budgerows, it became necessary to give up this part of our plan, even though I had written to Burhampore proposing to hold a confirmation on the following Sunday. We went forward, therefore, by the Jellinghi, which, as it passes close to Kishnagur, would give an opportunity of communicating by dâk with Burhampore in time to prevent either suspense or disappointment at our non-appearance. Nuddea standing at the confluence of the two rivers, Bagerothi and Jellinghi, which form the Hoogley, is a place of great renown. Such confluences are always much honoured in Hindoo superstition, and as the Hoogley is universally considered the true Ganges, all devout believers hold it peculiarly sacred. A curious proof of this is given in a story which is told with much confidence of the Rajah of Burdwan, the

individual to whom I have before referred in terms anything but complimentary. His usual residence, 'Burdwan,' is about fourteen coss, something less than thirty miles, from Culna, and it is said to be an object of the greatest anxiety to him to keep the route from Burdwan to Culna in perfect repair, in order that when he feels his death approaching there may be no hindrance to prevent his reaching the banks of the sacred river in time to breathe his last amidst its waters.

"Nuddea has other and peculiar claims to attention. It is the seat of a university. Nothing assuredly could be less academical than its aspect from the river, as it is no more than an aggregation of thatched huts spread far and wide under a grove of mangoes and cocoanut trees. But it is in fact a place of great celebrity for the study of Hindoo law, and I have lately had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some very curious details connected with it, which have been put together by that profound and enlightened investigator of Hindoo antiquities and literature, Mr. H. H. Wilson.

"We stopped at Kishnagur to send our letters ashore. It is an important station as being in the very centre of the most important indigo plantations, and the seat of the magistracy of the district. This is one of the places toward which my attention had been directed with much anxiety, under the hope that something might be effected to supply the offices of the Christian ministry to the resident indigo planters and their European dependents. This and the neighbouring station of Jessore would be an interesting field of labour, and a wise and useful minister would or might turn it to excellent account. There is, in truth, no missionary station so decidedly important as this. If a Christian spirit of improvement could be introduced among this class of persons, it would have a direct bearing on the native character all round. What a day of blessing for India when each of the stations occupied in the first instance merely for the purposes of gain shall become a centre of Christian and moral amelioration.

"We struggled on against the stream till evening with uncertain baffling winds and heavy rains, and at last lay to under a high steep bank which seemed to be the very region of ague and 'intermittents,' save as to the plague of flies, of which indeed there was no intermission. Our dinner table was covered, our mouths filled, our lamps nearly extinguished, and as long as the lights were kept burning there was a perpetual sputtering against them. To get rid of the plague was impossible, so there was nothing for it but to go to bed and hear the rain 'patter' and the jackals 'jabber.'

"*Saturday, 26th.* My apprehension of ague was not unfounded. On Thursday morning I found myself very unwell at the hour of rising, and when dressed and seated at table the suspicion came across my mind that my sensations were not altogether unlike those which I experienced when attacked with ague at Wandsworth this time last year. Half an hour settled the question. I had fits of both kinds in succession perfectly well defined, though neither very severe nor of long continuance. The advantage of having a medical man at hand was now very apparent. Mr. Spiers was with me in a quarter of an hour, and by persisting in a particular kind of treatment, enabled me to check the disease in its infancy. I have now got over the interval at which a recurrence might be expected, and can consider myself convalescent.

"*Sunday, 27th.* It is no easy matter to decide in what way Sunday should be spent by Christian voyagers on the Ganges. In making my mind up for this day's duties I had all the advantage of the Archdeacon's experience. He declared that having tried many methods without success or satisfaction, he had at last settled down to a plan for which the best that could be said was that it was open to fewer objections than any other he could point out. In pursuance of this plan, therefore, we came to about nine o'clock for two hours. Our whole party assembled in my pinnacle to service, and when we had, as I trust all experi-

enced a season of much comfort, we went forward again till the hot hours were passed, and then availed ourselves of a dry grassy bank, at the turn of the river, free to every wind that could blow, to take our night's station. We assembled for evening service in the Archdeacon's pinnace, and again with feelings of much comfort.

"Monday, 28th. Still in the Jellinghi, toiling and tacking, and baffled by the strength of the current and the winding course of the river. In various reaches we passed this morning our vessel's head was due south, and then we had both wind and stream against us. Nothing, however, can exhaust the patience or abate the good-humour of the dandeés ; in the water or out, trifling on shore or tacking and toiling on board, they are always in spirits. While at work they laugh ; when at rest they eat. Their caldron is seldom closed. The dandeés' curry is famous, and much admired by those who have throats of brass. There is sometimes an admixture of fish or of meat, but the ordinary ingredients in equal proportions seem to be about a barrel of rice boiled with half a peck of garlic, cloves, and about a quartern measure of pods of capsicum (called chillies), simmered together over a slow fire. Then, let them stand till the mess is cool enough not to scald the fingers of a dandee ; then place the rice pot in the centre of half a dozen expectant individuals, who will presently empty the rice into the hollow of their hands, while the noses of all around are tortured by the acrid fungus-steam of the pungent chillies.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon a shout from the dandeés announced with much joy that we had reached the great Ganges. The river pours along, 'deep, majestic, rough and strong,' in a course nearly due south. Our southerly wind, though rather slack, helped us against the stream, and we toiled along the right bank of the river till it was quite dark on the look-out for a convenient place to moor in. We were but poorly suited at last, and the night was stormy.

"*Tuesday, 29th.* We got under weigh at the first peep of morning, and began to stem the fierce current of the Ganges. Voyagers at this season depend on having the wind from the southward and eastward, with fresh gales. Nothing less would enable them to make progress against this wild current, and even with this aid we were frequently obliged to tack. We made a respectable advance till about four o'clock, when the heavens began to gather inky blackness from the north-west. We were in the middle of the stream, and our serang immediately bestirred himself to get near the shore. We had just reached it, and the men had landed and got fast hold of the tow-rope, when, after a momentary lull, the typhoon burst upon us with all its violence. We were driven downwards bumping against every projection in the soft sandy bank, and it seemed impossible that we should save ourselves from being swamped. The dandees were like a set of children, and the serang was not much better. My own servant (Charles) kept his head completely, and when I went up to see what could be done, I found him in command of the vessel.

"Fortunately we came to a mooring when we least expected it, and were able to get out our hawsers, which the dandees, who had now perfectly recovered themselves and their wits, were very expert in fixing. We were at leisure to watch a north-wester in his most furious form—wind, rain, and thunder could hardly do more separately or in combination. It lasted something less than an hour, and when it moderated we began to look out for our friends. The Archdeacon's pinnace had from the first been moored safely ahead of us, but nothing was to be seen of the budge-rows. After a short time, however, Mr. Spiers' hove in sight, and brought tidings of the rest. We went on till dark to find a good place to halt in, but our friends had not got up with us. Our good Archdeacon came off to visit me as soon as we had cast anchor, and by the awkwardness of one of his servants fell between the little boat and the pinnace.

Happily the indefatigable Charles was assisting him into the pinnace, and had firm hold of his hand. The whole crew of Bengalese could do nothing but shout and scream. I ran up the forecastle, and found my friend clinging to Charles and the boats. We immediately lifted him in, and he had nothing more severe than a wetting. I thought Mrs. Corrie might have been alarmed at the noise, so when he was fairly on board I shouted out 'All's well,' but my precaution was vain. She did hear the alarm, but did *not* hear the assurance. However, the boats were very near, and Mr. Corrie went on board at once to carry the news himself both of the peril and the deliverance.

" *Wednesday, 30th.* We pushed on early in the morning to Bogwangola, where our letters were to await us. The run was not long in point of distance, but hindrances and delays occurred, so that it was nine o'clock when we came to. A large packet of letters was waiting, but all Indian and official! I thoroughly expected *some* English and private. To read and answer the several communications was, however, a satisfactory mode of occupation. We had large packets ready for despatch. Throughout it was a day of rest and communication with that portion of the wide world which is not included between the banks of the Ganges. Our fleet arrived one by one all more or less battered by the storm, but all safe. Bogwangola is rapidly losing the characteristics so graphically described by Heber. The river gains upon it in all directions, and the people seem weary of maintaining the struggle and are abandoning the ground. These migrations are so familiar to the Bengalese that they excite no remark, and ruined villages, instead of being indicative of misery, may be regarded only as affording proof that the people have not wit enough to see when they ought to rise, nor vigour enough to act upon their determination.

" *Thursday, July 1st.* We made good progress to-day. About eleven o'clock the Rajmahal Hills were visible in the faintest shadowy outline.

"*Friday, 2nd, and Saturday, 3rd.* Two days of delays, blunders, embarrassment and almost disasters. The serang of course, as he always does when anything like difficulty occurs, lost his wits, and all command over himself and others. I was obliged to turn captain myself, and with my man, Charles, as first lieutenant, managed to bring the pinnace to anchor in a safe berth on Friday night, although it was as late as half-past ten o'clock, and to reach some friends who were waiting for us at Rajmahal about nine on Saturday. We went forward in the evening, but did not make much progress. Our serang managed to run us aground, where we stuck fast, and then came on a typhoon almost as violent as that of Wednesday. I was again obliged to take charge of the vessel, with Charles in the usual offices of mate, boatswain, carpenter, first lieutenant, &c. By timely precaution we saved the masts, and should have got through in safety but for the abominable bungling of one of the men. They had in the first instance furled the sails in such a clumsy fashion that I made them all go up again, that we might have all snug before the gale was at its fury. The idle wretch who should have banded the foretop sail, was contented with setting it up without tying the points. The very first blast of wind produced its effect and the sail was blown to pieces in a few minutes. I was here confirmed in my opinion, which the experience of the last two days had taught me, that whatever must be done for the ship's safety must be done before the point is urgent. At the moment of such difficulty they are as incapable of attending to orders or making a combined exertion as if they were so many boys. Amphibious as they seem, they cannot stand the pelting of the storm. They will do anything to shelter themselves from it, and this evening I actually saw one of the dandees of my own pinnace up to his shoulders in water, hauling out a rope with one hand and with the other holding up an umbrella.

"*Monday, 5th.* Yesterday was anything but a day of holy rest. We had made arrangements as on the previous

Sunday, but the morning was dark and rainy, and we were all dispersed, no one knowing anything of his neighbour. About two o'clock came on the fiercest storm of rain and thunder, though with less wind, that we had yet encountered, and of longer continuance. The thunder was more protracted at times, and seemed nearer than any I had before heard. To form something like a notion of it, you must endeavour to seem placed in the centre of a battery of 12-pounders, double-loaded and fired in rapid succession. By a coincidence the chapter which occurred for my private reading was Job xxxvii. ver. 1 to 5 : 'At this my heart trembleth, and is moved out of his place. Hear attentively the noise of His voice, and the sound that goeth out of His mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and His lightning to the ends of the earth. After it a voice roareth ; He thundereth with the voice of His excellency, and He will not stay them when His voice is heard. God thundereth marvellously with His voice ; great things doeth He which we cannot comprehend.' This evening I felt what I rarely feel, weary and dispirited. Our boats were scattered, and mine was in a place not easy of access. I did not, therefore, encourage the idea of attempting to assemble, but went to an early bed after a solitary cup of tea. The night brought refreshment and tranquillity, and we are now, after much labour and difficulty, pursuing our course steadily.

" *Tuesday, 6th.* Our movement is slow, and we got no further than Pointee. The origin which Bishop Heber gives to this place, 'Peer Pointee,' is not allowed by the etymologists who are with us. Each seems to have his separate theory ; but the most plausible is that given by Mr. Corrie's assistant Da Costa, who says that it is a custom among the Mussulmen when a man renowned for sanctity dies to distribute his household stuff in very small portions amongst his disciples and votaries as relics. Now Pointee means the lower end of a bedstead, and he says that some such portion of the valuables of some saint had

been placed here and honoured as a relic.* Pointee is beautifully situated—it is a rocky headland clothed with stately timber, and commanding an extensive view up and down the Ganges, with those hills which have now been our pleasant neighbours for three days. The worst calamity is that my cook boat has not been heard of since Sunday, and we must make up our bill of fare of rice and curry, unless the village can afford other provision. At Sicligully, on Monday, we had a sharp struggle with the rapids, just above the usual place of mooring. We got safely through, being therein more fortunate than a detachment of sepoy in a country boat ahead of us, who were swamped. Their wretched vessel was knocked to pieces. They all swim like ducks, and every man landed safely with his arms and ‘all.’ I have seldom seen so striking a group as they formed when gathered round their old jemautdar, who gave his directions seated on the summit of a picturesque heap of rocks. The ‘up country’ sepoys are a singularly fine race of men, and they were encumbered with only just as much display as a statue would have desired. If Chantry wished to execute a group of Priam and his sons he could not have had a finer study. The jemautdar was the good old king to the very life, and at his right stood a sepoy carrying his sword and belt, who might have made a perfect Hector; or he might have stood for Sir Walter’s personification of valour,—prim, settled, cool, leaning upon his own good sword.

“ *Wednesday, 7th.* We were brought to yesterday much earlier than we intended at Puttergotta. A ridge of rocks runs out into the stream, round which our serang coolly said that our boats could not make way, and the wind had failed completely. Whether we would or no, therefore, we must bring to, and certainly if time had allowed, the event would have been very different. As it was just half-past three,

* Bishop Heber, it may be recollected, says “Peer Pointee, Father or St. Pointee, was the name of a Mussulman saint who lies buried at this spot.”

and we were under a steep bank with a south-western exposure, a severe heating from an oven could not have been more effectually devised, and we soon felt its influence. The thermometer in my cabin ran up to 93°, and with all appliances and means to boot, it was impossible to procure any mitigation. There was nothing for it but to gasp on and say, or rather cry, 'Gallop, ye fiery-footed steed'; but never surely did sun descend so slowly. However, it was down at last, and we met to enjoy the evening breeze on a rocky headland amidst some of the loveliest scenery which wood, rock, and water could combine to form. It is indeed a noble river; here we are about 400 miles from its estuary, and it is flowing before us in a well-defined channel above a mile broad, with a depth in many places, we are told, of forty or fifty feet, and with a velocity, where the current is strongest, of not less than six miles an hour. I thought the Rhine and the Danube something considerable, but the Ganges here may be taken as equal to any six rivers in Europe.

"*Friday, 9th.* Our sail in the afternoon of Wednesday was pleasant and rapid. By a very unusual chance ours was the first pinnacle, and as the serang announced just at sunset that we had reached Boglipore, I gave orders to bring to for the night in the first secure place we could find, as a storm was gathering. He obeyed with more than usual activity. I found, however, when the other boats arrived, that the ghat at which we had stopped was not Boglipore proper, but an outlying hamlet dependent on it. However, as the place was well suited to our purpose and the storm beat heavily, it was considered better to remain where we were. Before daybreak we were under weigh, and moved about two coss higher up to the regular landing place. Boglipore is a large military station, besides being the residence of the district magistracy. One of the latter, Mr. Pringle, was well known to us, having been down to Calcutta in the cold season, and lived on terms of intimacy with the Archdeacon's family. I had seen him occasionally,

and always with much pleasure. He is young, but a devoted and exemplary Christian—one in whom the benefits of early religious training were beautifully illustrated, and he knows from experience that the comfort of the gospel is indeed a 'pearl of great price.' He was one of those who shared in the deliverance when the *East Indiaman* was burnt, and he is referred to, though not by name, in Colonel McGregor's interesting narrative. It is pleasant to know by a note from himself that his house is close to the ghat, and thither I should have repaired immediately, but that I found an invitation from Colonel Cameron and the officers of the Buffs, with an intimation that they purposed calling on me. My cabin was scarcely large enough for a reception room, but the introduction did not last a long time—just long enough to enable me to express my sense of their kind attention and to request that the guard of honour might be withdrawn, as there was no shelter for the men near the ghat. I went up to Mr. Pringle's to a late breakfast, and found that the kind Archdeacon had made all necessary inquiries to enable us to determine what our plans should be.

"There is a chaplain at Boglipore, a Mr. Pritchard, but he has gone to the hills on sick leave, and has been absent some time. In consequence there was an arrear of duty. There were fifteen children whose parents were anxious for their baptism. This the Archdeacon undertook, and we resolved that we must not lose the benefit of the east wind now blowing freely, but start at daybreak with the hope of reaching Monghir for service on Sunday. My morning was given to preparations for the future, and the afternoon to pleasant conversation and a delightful drive with Mr. Pringle. It is a beautiful district, and the air is more sensibly pure than in Bengal.

"From Mr. Pringle I learnt many interesting particulars respecting the indigo planters—a class of persons very numerous in this neighbourhood, but much more numerous and of greater consideration in the district a little to the

north of this on the other side of the Ganges. On every account the actual condition of this class of persons is a most interesting subject of inquiry. Through these may be solved the problems which now engage so large a portion of attention: To what extent is the settlement of European cultivators in India practicable? What would be the effect of such settlement on the character of the natives? How will the individuals themselves endure the way of life to which they must be exposed? Is this way of life absolutely incompatible with the profession or practice of Christianity? What will be its mutual influence? Is the low spiritual and moral state of the indigo planters to be ascribed to the character and disposition of the individuals who have engaged in these occupations? or must it be referred to the deteriorating influence of the occupation itself? What might be expected from their agency in the missionary cause, if they were imbued with a missionary spirit? These are some of the points of inquiry which present themselves, most interesting from their intrinsic importance, but to me at this time specially interesting, inasmuch as I have to make up a deliberate opinion on grounds carefully examined,—whether I can adopt the terms of that sweeping censure pronounced by Heber on the whole class, or whether it must not now be qualified by a reference to many important considerations, some of which did not come under his view, and some perhaps had no existence when his remarks were written. The aspect of a novel speculation like this of a mixed character, both commercial and agricultural, must be ever changing, and the character and manners of the individuals who conduct it must share in this change.

“Mr. Pringle was very full and strong in his remarks on the utter impotency of the existing judicial and legal institutions, however vigilantly or diligently administered, in respect to the improvement of the moral principle among the natives. ‘We punish crime,’ he said, ‘wherever we detect it, and our vigilance prevents a great deal, which but

for the dread of penal consequences, would be perpetrated every day. But we cannot get beyond this mark. The disposition to do wrong remains in all its force, and the man who has been kept from wrong and robbery, or even murder, by his fears, has only a probable chance of impunity and he is ready for the worst crimes.' The inference he would draw is this: that nothing is really accomplished by the agency of the British authorities but the mere prevention of evil. I am disposed to view the question more cheerily. 'Cease to do evil' comes before 'learn to do well,' and I trust that there is as clear and real a union between the two as is implied in the collocation. In the evening the Archdeacon accompanied me to the mess dinner. There was a very numerous party, and probably some interesting and well-informed people, but amidst the bustle of civilities to be interchanged there was little opportunity of finding them out. My next neighbour was a Captain Lockyer, whom I had met at Chinsurah in February last, a cultivated agreeable man, so that I have no cause for dissatisfaction. I could write a homily about going to mess dinners, but perhaps it may be as well to spare the record of *pros* and *cons* in respect to this question. Suffice it that I have pondered the whole question carefully, and am not altogether dissatisfied with the conclusion I have come to; but this is the most I can say of it.

"Monday, 12th, Monghir. The east wind favoured us on Friday beyond our expectations; steadily it blew and rapidly we moved forward during the whole day, so that towards five o'clock our serang was able to point out a hill, at the foot of which he said was the hot spring of Seeta Coom. It seemed that we should be able to bring to in time to make this the point of our evening walk, but it was 'seeming' only. About a mile from the headland we got involved in eddies and shallows, far beyond any powers of extrication the dandees could muster, and the night closed upon us in the midst of our difficulties. The Archdeacon's pinnacle was in a like embarrassment. So there we were

obliged to be till the light and the renewed vigour of morning enabled our people to exert themselves with effect. We came to at the place proposed, determined not to be disappointed of our visit to the well. It is a hot spring of very high temperature, and the water is of extraordinary purity, free from any admixture of sulphur or other minerals like the Bristol waters, and that which is sent to a great distance for the use of invalids or persons who think it a luxury. Superstition is of course busy with so fair a subject, and the Brahmins who have complete possession of it amuse the people with a most absurd account of its origin and its mystical properties and virtues. Our poor sepoys, most of whom, it should be observed, are Brahmins, seemed to regard this as an opportunity not to be lost, and hastened to turn our short stay to account. The attendant priests were a worthless-looking, idle, disorderly set, and gabbled over their formularies in a tone of most complete indifference, gazing round them all the time as though the matter were one in which they had no concern. I was struck by the intense interest of the votaries. One young sepoy seemed to be deeply impressed with solemn feelings even whilst the old wretch was jabbering and shifting a sort of straw ring (made of jungle grass) from one finger to another. *He* seemed to be really observant, and bore the conclusion of the ceremony, which was the sprinkling of the whole body with lake water, without shrinking. Seeta Coom is only about a coss (two miles) by land from Monghir, but the distance by water is considerable. Our east wind had failed us, and we were obliged to tack the greater part of the way. About two o'clock we came to at the ghat.

"Monghir was, under the Mohammedan Government, a place of some importance. It was considered a first-class fortress, and the remainder of the works as they now are bear evidence that it deserved the character. It has now, from some cause not easy to explain, become celebrated for its manufacture of hardware, small articles of ornamental

furniture, and cutlery. The vendors of these commodities ply at the ghat, and proffer their wares standing up to their necks in water with not much less assiduity and importunity than the young members of the Jewish nation who dispense oranges at the 'Elephant and Castle,' near London. It was a fiery hot afternoon, but cooler earlier than usual. About five o'clock I received a visit from the Commissioner, Mr. Lea Warner, with whom, in concert with the Archdeacon, we made arrangements for assembling all the Christian residents for divine service on the morrow, for which purpose Mr. Warner kindly offered the accommodation of his house, the same which Bishop Heber made use of on a similar occasion, while it was occupied by Dr. Tytler. The evening was fresh and fair, and I was very glad to accept the offer of Mr. Lea Warner to take a drive in his carriage. The office of Commissioner involves a wide extent of duties and responsibilities, and in a thickly inhabited wealthy neighbourhood such as this district, must of necessity be entangled by many embarrassments arising, it would seem, from the complicated and anomalous character of the power entrusted to his direction and discretion. As far as the administration of the criminal law is concerned, there is, however, no cause of complaint. Violent outrages are now almost unknown, and certainly never escape unpunished, and even the crimes of a less flagrant character are repressed with a strong hand, but civil injuries do not admit of such vigorous and summary means of adjustment. "At the same time it is said the people of this district are comparatively quiet and unoffending. They are less litigious than the Bengalees, and less inclined to violence than the people of the upper provinces. Their most dangerous and detrimental propensity is the use of spirituous liquors.

"Before we returned to our pinnacle, and just as evening was closing in, Mr. Lea Warner led me to a point of view which he characterized (and I should think with great truth) as one of the finest in India. One of the bastions of the fort

is erected on a ledge of rocks jutting out into the river, and forming an angle against which the whole force of the stream spends itself. It commands a view of prodigious extent and interest on both sides. The town stands along the banks, its long line of walls and ruined edifices and defences, its decayed though stately houses, intermingled with graceful palms and large forest trees, scattered over a bare and open country, and backed by a noble range of mountains (the Currackanpore Hills), and with the Ganges pouring along and spreading out its waters—these are some of the objects which form the splendid view from the fort at Monghir, though I fear the recapitulation of them will convey a no more correct idea of their interest than might be formed of a beautiful woman by a catalogue of her features, with a distinct specification of the width of her mouth and the length of her nose.

“We assembled at Mr. Lea Warner’s house at seven o’clock on Sunday morning, a congregation of about eighty persons, and again in the evening about sixty. Monghir has long been a station for Baptist ministers or missionaries. The whole congregation and their two ministers, Mr. Moon and Mr. Leslie, shared in our service. In the evening they came to my boat, and we had an hour’s very pleasing intercourse. Mr. Moon has been long in India; Mr. Leslie about six years. He is a man of considerable power, and much devoted to the work and duties of his calling. It was a very interesting day. We were under much apprehension in the morning (Monday) that we might be exposed to disagreeable delays. The rocks in which the bastion I have mentioned stands, cause such a tremendous current, that without the aid of an easterly wind, blowing fresh, no vessel can get round. Lord Amherst, we were told, was detained many days, and so was Lady Hastings. The morning opened very inauspiciously; there was little wind, and that lay directly against us. We began to set about being patient, and to devise plans of occupation; but our trouble was removed by a

fresh easterly breeze which sprung up about two o'clock. Monghir is a place of vast importation. There were a great many vessels besides our own wind-bound, and the business of unmastng and getting under weigh presented a scene of bustle and confusion. It seemed impossible that with the river running like a mill stream, and the wind blowing fresh, so many vessels, most of them clumsy in appearance and awkwardly managed, could be got under sail without accident. One by one, however, this was effected, and we passed the point of difficulty. In half an hour all were merrily stemming the current. We made an excellent run, and met our usual evening party in safety.

"*Tuesday, 13th.* A fresh breeze from the east carried us forward rapidly the whole day. We had something less than the usual share of difficulty, but considerably more than the usual portion of danger. The fresh breeze occasionally rose to a complete gale; and as it met the fierce current it raised in some of the long reaches a very rough and disagreeable sea, such as our boats are ill-prepared to encounter. Our crews have absolutely no notion of the management of the vessel in such weather. I kept a sharp look out, and with my first lieutenant's aid succeeded in preventing any mischief. The Corries were not so fortunate. To avoid a shoal, their serang brought the pinnace up so suddenly that he laid her on her beam ends. The water rushed in at the cabin windows, the bookcase and tables were all wetted, and Mrs. Corrie was in extreme peril, before the Archdeacon could rush upon deck and get the vessel's head to the wind. Not a man in the crew retained the slightest self-possession. The steersman ran up from the cabin, and the rest were like so many mad monkeys. The peril was, therefore, really extreme, though the actual mischief went no further than the damage done to the cabin furniture, and the serious alarm to Mrs. Corrie. We came to for the night at Bar, a large old town in the midst of a most fertile district, famed among other things for the production of a perfume obtained by distillation

from a large species of jessamine, which grows here in great abundance.

" *Wednesday, 14th.* From Bar, the run to Patna is quite straight, and as the river's course is nearly from west to east, the breeze, which still blew very fresh, was as favourable as we could desire. About two o'clock we reached the first suburb of Patna, and passed it very rapidly, noticing with much interest the several objects which Heber has described so graphically. We had here a fresh proof of that selfish indifference to everything in which their own safety or advantage is not concerned, which is so often spoken of as marking the native character. The wind blew with great violence, and the waves were very high and rough when we saw a country boat, which was sailing about fifty yards ahead of us, suddenly upset. I called to our serang to get ready his small boat, 'the dingy,' to save the people; but he did not move, and when Charles, as my interpreter, scolded him violently, he insisted very coolly that the river was too rough to allow the dingy to put off. By this time the people might be seen clinging to their own boat, keel upwards. The affair had taken place in a crowded part of the river within sight of hundreds of people, with boats of all kinds lying at the ghat, but not a creature offered assistance; and while we continued in sight not a single effort was made to get the people ashore. They were simply suffered to drift along as fast and as far as the river would carry them.

" More than an hour and a half was occupied in passing along the city and suburbs of Patna. We came to abreast of Bankipore, which is in fact the English Residency, at about half-past three. I was to have been the guest of the chaplain, but a serious domestic affliction had disqualified him for the burden of reception, and I was happy to avail myself of an invitation very kindly given by Mr. Jennings, the collector. We dined early, and took a short evening drive after, returning to our boats to sleep.

" The next day, after breakfast at Mr. Jennings', I

visited a new establishment of a most interesting nature—a native female school lately set on foot, by Mrs. Wilson's suggestion, by the ladies of the station, and conducted by Miss Chatfield, who had been sent out by the Society from England. There are eighteen scholars ; and, novel as the experiment is, it seems already to justify at least one hope, viz., that in carrying forward such a measure there are no difficulties at a detached station like Patna greater than those which have been overcome in Calcutta, and the promise of ultimate success is, to say the least of it, quite as encouraging. Miss Chatfield seems devoted to the work, and has made progress in acquiring necessary knowledge.

“ The shortness of my stay in Patna prevents me from returning the visits of Sir Charles D'Oyley and other English residents. I can say nothing, therefore, from actual knowledge of his beautiful drawings. The praise which Bishop Heber bestowed upon them is joined in by every one who has had an opportunity of looking them over.

“ Among the guests at dinner to-day was the Padre ‘Giulio Cæsare,’ whom Heber has described. He is still in full vigour. I have seldom seen so picturesque a personage, and his Franciscan garb is worn with entire knowledge of effect. He continues to be well received in the English society, and is of a temper much too supple to give, and much too prudent to take, offence. He is said to be at variance with the authorities in his own Church ; but as his scanty allowances are not withdrawn, and he picks up very frequent fees from the Irish Roman Catholics, whom he meets with in the neighbouring cantonment of Dinapore, he would feel his vow of poverty rather inconvenient did he not assume to himself the part of a pope by taking out a dispensation. He does not make the least missionary effort. On the contrary, he disclaims connection with all missionaries. On the whole, Padre Giulio has little to recommend him but a reverend beard, fine features, and fair complexion.”

MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA.

MISS JEX-BLAKE has, in her article on "Medical Women" in *The Nineteenth Century* for November last, expressed her sorrow that both Medical Missionary Societies and the Countess of Dufferin's Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India are in danger of falling into the pitfall of employing women very imperfectly qualified for their work. I cannot say how true this may be as regards the Medical Mission Societies, though I can declare from personal knowledge that they accomplish a great deal of good in India; but as Honorary Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, with twelve years' experience of rural and urban India, I would ask leave to explain what I think is a misconception on Miss Jex-Blake's part as to the conditions under which Lady Dufferin's Fund is working, and the methods which it adopts for carrying out its very large and comprehensive programme. Miss Jex-Blake did not endeavour, and I shall not endeavour here, to give any detailed account of the scope and aims * of the Association. Lady Dufferin, in an excellent article published in an early number of this REVIEW, stated that "the women of India as a whole are without that medical aid which their European sisters are accustomed to consider as absolutely necessary, and suffer infinitely from the ignorant practice of the so-called midwife." Lady Dufferin accordingly, with the sympathy and support of Her Majesty the Queen-

* For these the reader is referred, in addition to Lady Dufferin's article in *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of April, 1886, to Mr. Daniel Watney's essay in the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of July, 1887.

Empress—the patron of the Association—issued her prospectus stating that the aims of the Association were medical tuition, medical relief, and the supply of trained nurses and midwives. She stated what no one who has considered the problem can deny, that “it is to India herself we must look in the future for the wholesale supply of female doctors. So great a country can never be fully supplied with physicians from abroad.”

It will be evident from the above extracts from Lady Dufferin's article, that the Association started with a full knowledge of the obvious and indisputable fact that the wholesale importation of highly educated medical women, to be maintained at its expense during the whole of their career in India, was altogether out of the question. Here and there in some of the largest cities of the country, where, by the munificence of the rich, female hospitals exist, employment may be found for a few such ladies, but the provision of female practitioners to supply these places never could have called into existence such an agency as Lady Dufferin's Fund, which, with equal boldness and benevolence, aims at alleviating the condition of all the women of India. It is a question of millions, and a beginning must be made at the bottom of the scale. Were the point arguable, as I think it is not, some useful deductions might be made from the course education has taken in this country, which, contrary to the avowed principles of government, having begun at the top, has continued to be the privilege of the few rather than the right of the many.

Every position is best illustrated by a concrete case, and the operations of the Madras Branch of the National Association may be described in a few words. Scholarships to be held by pupils till they qualify for the Apothecary and Hospital Assistant Grade respectively have been founded by the Fund, and the gratuitous education of these scholars in the Medical College of the Presidency town has been sanctioned by Government. District and Local Boards throughout the country have

been invited to found similar scholarships for the education of pupils, subject to the rules prescribed by the Fund, and many have actually endowed scholarships already. Arrangements have been made for passing native midwives through a brief practical course of training in a Lying-in Hospital at Madras, and also for educating nurses for practice in the districts.

It will be observed that the Madras Branch endeavours to improve the lowest class of medical or *quasi*-medical practitioners, and that its other operations which have been described above are designed to create a class of female practitioners of moderate attainments. In fact the whole tenour of its procedure points to a very gradual leaven of a great lump of ignorance, by the provision of a class of medical women educated indeed in European medical schools, under European supervision, and in the medical science of the day, but not necessarily aspiring to higher medical degrees and attainments.

Now Miss Jex-Blake, whose views on such subjects are of course entitled to the greatest attention and weight, holds that the National Association "commits a very serious error by accepting partially qualified women, and especially the lower class of medical practitioners educated at the Indian Colleges with a much restricted curriculum, and in placing them practically on an equal footing with the graduates of those same colleges, or of European schools." It may be conceded this would indeed be a very serious error; but, so far at any rate as the Madras Branch is concerned, and with equal certainty, so far as I understand, with regard to the operations of the Fund throughout India, there is no intention of placing such medical practitioners on an equal footing with their superiors who are in the possession of higher qualifications.

On the contrary, the medical women of the Hospital Assistant and Apothecary Grade, which the Madras Branch hopes to create, are to serve on the same rates of pay as practitioners of the same rank in the service of Government

in India, and to be subject as far as possible to the same discipline as practitioners of the same rank in the service of Government, and to work under the immediate eye and supervision, and subject to the authority, of superior medical practitioners, actually in the service of Government—to wit, the district surgeons, who are officers possessed as a rule of the highest medical qualifications. It was never intended that these practitioners should have independent charge of hospitals, dispensaries, or kindred institutions. It may be urged, however, that such practitioners will indulge in private practice. Undoubtedly they will, but are they not by reason of their medical qualifications, all imperfect though they be, as far superior to the native medical practitioners who would in the alternative be called in, as are the district surgeons under whom they work to themselves?

It may also be urged, of course, that it is impossible for female subordinates to be under the control of male district surgeons to the same extent as are male medical subordinates; and this is no doubt true to some extent, for if there is an objection to the attendance of the male practitioner in the first instance, there will be an objection to his being called in when the case proves too serious or too difficult for the female practitioner who has taken it in hand. But it must be remembered that in the vast majority of cases there is not any caste objection to the treatment of women by male practitioners. Herein it is necessary to join issue with Inspector-General Balfour, quoted by Miss Jex-Blake, when he says that “out of the hundred millions of women in India, at least two-thirds are by their social customs debarred from receiving the visits of a medical man at their own houses and from attending at the public hospitals and dispensaries.” The fact is that only a fraction of the people of India are so debarred by caste, and if their custom is so far broken through as to allow of their being treated by a woman educated in the European methods of surgery, it is no very violent presumption, indeed it is very much a matter

of natural consequence, that they should be willing when in difficulties to go a step farther and consent, if not to seeing the European male practitioner, at least to adopting the advice he may give to the female in whose hands they are.

A female hospital assistant, working at a Local Fund Dispensary in an Indian town, would treat such women as could come to the hospital—and they are the vast majority of the women of the country—and in private practice could penetrate into the houses of the few who are unable to visit the hospital. It is hastily assumed by people who do not know India that the Mussulman custom of seclusion of females generally applies to females of the upper classes. A very slight acquaintance with village or town life in an ordinary non-Mussulman Indian district would soon dissipate this error, for you may see the women of the highest castes in the country walking forwards and backwards to the well, looking fearlessly at an European as he goes by, and obviously in the enjoyment of all the freedom usual to their sisters in Europe. I mean it would be obvious to a stranger. To those who know the country, no proofs are necessary of what no one could deny. No doubt the Mussulman system was adopted during the supremacy of the Moguls amongst certain classes and in certain localities, but the exact converse to Dr. Balfour's statement, which Miss Jex-Blake quotes and accepts, would not be more incorrect than is his unqualified statement as it stands. Custom does undoubtedly operate to prevent the resort of women to European doctors, but that is because the people are accustomed to native doctors and native remedies; and as soon as European methods and remedies are seen by them to be more efficacious, then will they freely resort to them, and it is to bring this about that the National Indian Association proposes to begin, in that spirit of humility which is at least one factor of success, to offer to the people female medical aid.

I do not propose to plunge into the morass of Indian statistics, but it will be apparent from the figures in the

"Statesman's Year Book" for 1887, which are taken from the Imperial census of 1881, that of 97½ millions of British Indian female subjects, 33½ millions are engaged in agricultural, industrial, and menial occupations of various sorts and kinds which make seclusion impossible for those who are engaged in them. An objector will now say, but it is the higher castes to which Dr. Balfour's description applies. It does not, however, apply to them. The wives of the natives of higher classes display no repugnance towards European treatment and European remedies. If a witness is needed by an incredulous people, let us call a high priest. The high priest of the temple of Budyanath has founded scholarships in connection with Lady Dufferin's Fund, and by the terms of his grant has endeavoured to encourage women of his own religion and high caste to undertake the study of medicine and of nursing. The fact is that out of 124 millions of women in all India there are 24 millions of Mahomedans, to the majority of whom Dr. Balfour's statement may be considered applicable. I presume that to them it is applicable; but outside India, I have, when travelling in remote localities among Mussalmans, been asked pretty much as a matter of course in the villages, "Do you understand science?" (*hikmat*) *the* science, medicine—and have been pressed to prescribe for Mussalman women, and have been asked to see them for the purpose. Being a white man, it is assumed that you know something of the healing art, and you are made much of accordingly. Many Europeans who have travelled among Mussalmans could furnish similar experience. I suspect that even as regards the Mussalmans Dr. Balfour's statement would need some qualification.

Referring again to Miss Jex-Blake's indictment, would she say that to pass large numbers of midwives through a course of midwifery in a lying-in hospital is useless, because afterwards they still remain inferior practitioners?

In Lady Dufferin's article this matter receives the attention it merits, and in Madras we think that so far

from having started too low down in the medical scale with hospital assistants and apothecaries, it is doubtful whether there has not been even more wisdom in descending to the lower, indeed to the lowest, grade of medical women, and in endeavouring to improve a class which probably causes more suffering in India than any other.

If Miss Jex-Blake's objection to the operations of the Fund is admitted, in what position does the Government stand? for the dispensaries and hospitals which are scattered all over India, which are among the greatest monuments of British rule and are appreciated beyond everything by the natives, are for the most part officered by a class of lower practitioners under the supervision of medical officers of superior attainments.

Miss Jex-Blake's contention is sound, but what she calls the imperfectly educated women *will* "be usefully employed in subordinate positions," just as medical men, who are not less imperfectly educated, are at present employed in subordinate positions all over the country.

The Central Committee can, and does when necessary, employ fully qualified women in posts of sole responsibility, and so do the Branch Committees where there is need for such; for instance, in the Victoria Caste Hospital, affiliated to the Madras Branch of the National Association, where Miss Bouchier, M.D., whose services were obtained by the Central Committee, is doing such excellent work among the Gosha ladies of Madras.

When Miss Jex-Blake says that it "is a separate and most important question which cannot be adequately discussed by her whether it is possible or indeed desirable that provision for the medical needs of the hundred millions of Indian women should be undertaken by any voluntary agency, and whether it ought not to be made in connection with the Civil Service," she suggests the very course of conduct which was taken in the first instance by this Branch, and which is now being adopted by the National Association in general, namely, the enlisting of the services

of what are at least the *quasi*-official agencies of local and municipal boards in the development of the objects the Association has in view.

It is probable that few who are connected with the National Indian Association are unaware of the existence of the pitfall into which Miss Jex-Blake thinks it is likely to fall. The Central Committee in its published report for last year has given notice that it will not recommend pupils directly from any medical school or university to *independent* posts, considering it absolutely necessary that young practitioners should be placed for at least a year in some hospital or dispensary where they will have opportunities of practising under the supervision of experienced doctors. The course of education prescribed for the scholars under the Madras Branch of the Association will include as much or more practical acquaintance with medical work to be acquired in hospital, and such acquaintance is prescribed as a necessary condition to the grant of Hospital Assistant and Apothecary certificates.

It is with much diffidence that I venture to meet Miss Jex-Blake in the field of controversy, and indeed I would deny having done so. This paper is merely an endeavour to show to one to whom female medical education owes an undying debt of gratitude that she herself and those who have read her article may have misapprehended to some extent the conditions under which the National Association labours, and the endeavours which it is making to avoid the errors into which, she considers, it is in danger of falling, and to endeavour gradually to work out a scheme whereby the women of India *as a whole* may be supplied with medical aid. Such aid must inevitably be imperfect; the practitioners who give it will at first of necessity be partially educated, but the problem is a very great one, and the beginning can but be the day of small things.

J. D. REES.

CONCERNING SOME LITTLE KNOWN TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST.

No. II.

WILLIAM, EARL OF DENBIGH ; SIR HENRY SKIPWITH ; AND OTHERS.

IN this continuation of notices of little known travellers in Asia I have nothing to produce of equal interest to what I may fairly call the curious history of the discovery of George Strachan of the Mearns, which was presented in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for April last, and circumstances have not been favourable to the elaboration of all that I had intended. Much must be deferred, but still I am able to introduce some notices of other wanderers, from MS. records now published for the first time.

The first of these new travellers can hardly be called obscure, except as to his travels. Such an epithet does not belong as a general appellation to a man whose character and death have been painted by Clarendon ; but they do certainly belong to him as a traveller, and the scanty records which I present have been new to some, and probably all, of his descendants. I speak of WILLIAM FEILDING, first Earl of DENBIGH.

In a splendid loan collection of historical portraits which was opened at EDINBURGH contemporaneously with the Forestry Exhibition in 1884, I was much interested in a work of VANDYKE, belonging to the Duke of HAMILTON, which was a portrait of the aforesaid Earl of DENBIGH, a relation by marriage of the HAMILTONS ; in fact, the father-in-law of the first Duke.* The Earl is represented

* WILLIAM, son of BASIL FEILDING, was born before 1582. He attached himself to Buckingham, who was his brother-in-law, and through

at full length as out shooting, dressed in a red Indian jacket and drawers (*kurti* and *paijamas*), attended by a HINDU page, and surrounded by conventional suggestions of tropical life—such as palms and parrots of uncertain species. Why should Lord DENBIGH have been thus depicted? No peerage-book or work of biography or history, that I could find, threw any substantial light on the subject.

But I found that the picture was engraved (though not at full length) in *Lodge's Portraits*. And the matter bearing on the subject which we read in LODGE's text is as follows, and no more :

" . . . That DENBIGH . . . had incurred considerable unpopularity" (by his failure at ROCHELLE in 1628) "may be reasonably inferred from his being soon after sent into an honourable exile under the character of Ambassador to the SOPHI, a fact which we learn from the inscription on a very rare engraving of him by VOERST, which states also that he was at the Court of that monarch in 1631. This circumstance of his life sufficiently explains the remarkable accompaniments of the portrait prefixed to this very imperfect memoir. Those who show to strangers the fine collection in which the original remains, account for the singularities in question by asserting, with the usual simplicity and perseverance of such exhibitors, that he was Governor of JAMAICA, but, unfortunately for the tradition, that island was not possessed by the English till several years after his death." (*Lodge*, vol. vi.)

Of the same picture PENNANT has the following notice :

"Next appears a full-length, the finest portrait in this kingdom; a nobleman in red silk jacket and trowsers; his hair short and grey; a gun in his hand, attended by an INDIAN boy, and with INDIAN scenery around. The figure seems perfectly to start from the canvas, and the action of his countenance, looking up, has matchless spirit. It is called the picture of WILLIAM, Earl of DENBIGH, miscalled Governor of BARBADOES (*sic*). . . . The painter seems to have been RUBENS; but from what circumstance of his lordship's life he placed him in an INDIAN forest is not known." ("Tour in Scotland," Pt. I., p. 141, 2nd ed., 1776.)

I may add that an autotype copy of the rare engraving

this connection rose in Court favour, being created Viscount FEILDING in 1620, and Earl of DENBIGH in 1622. He was one of Prince Charles's companions on the Spanish escapade, and afterwards held various high naval commissions: Vice-Admiral, in 1626; Captain General of the Fleet, in the same year; Admiral, in 1627 and 1628. But in all his action was futile and fruitless, including two attempts at the relief of Rochelle.

by VOERST, from a print in the British Museum, is now before me. The inscript below it runs :

"The right Honourable WILLIAM ffilding Earle of Denbigh Vicount ffilding and Baron of Newenham, Ambassador to the high & mighty King of Persia. Will. Webb, excudit. A°. 1631."

It will be seen hereafter that though Lord DENBIGH does appear to have paid a short visit to PERSIA, there is no evidence of his having gone in the character of Ambassador to the "Sophy" (then SHÁH SAFÍ, grandson of the great 'Abbás). Nor would a visit to PERSIA sufficiently explain the HINDUSTANI costume of the portrait; but there is a more satisfactory explanation.

In the Record Office, whilst looking for something else, among the small collection of INDIA Papers there, I lighted upon certain copies of letters commendatory from King CHARLES I., under the year 1630, in favour of Lord DENBIGH.

These commendatory letters run as follows :

(No. 1). *"To the high and mighty Monarch the greate Lord SHAUGH SUFFIE Emperour of PERSIA, MEDIA, PARTHIA, ARMENIA, and of the famous Kingdomes of LAR and ORMUS, and of many other large and Populous Provinces.*

"CHARLES by the grace of Almighty GOD King of GREATE BRITTAINE, FRANCE, and IRELAND, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the high and excellent Monarch, the greate Lord SHAUGH SUFFIE, Emperour of PERSIA, MEDIA, PARTHIA, ARMENIA, and of the famous Kingdomes of LAR and ORMUS and of many other large and Populous Provinces, Sendeth greetinge, and wisheth health and prosperity and to your sword and armes, the edge and glory of victory. When with ioy and pleasure we call to mynd the glory of your father of renouned memory the valiant and victorious SHAUGH ABAS : and like the renewinge of a sweete perfume, doe remember the mutuall freindship betweene our Ancestors, Wee could noe longer omitt both to congratulate the inauguration of your highnes vnto your Kingdomes and Dominions, soe long and gloriously possessed and derived from your royall Progenitors, nor to signify to you our ioy, and desire to continew with you the same freindship, amity, and correspondence which shall on our part be inviolably kept and mainteyned. Neither can we refuse on this occasion to acknowledge and giue you thanks for the favour protection and justice which you are pleased to extend to our Subjects and Merchants tradinge and residinge in your Dominions, which as we doubt not is and shall be profitable for both our estates and

Kingdomes : Soe the fame thereof spreadeth it selfe like the sunn beames Vpon the fruitfull Meadowes to the comfort of our freinds, and confusion and despiht of all the envious.

"Amongst other your royall virtues the renowne of your prowesse and valour in Armes haveinge like a lighteninge throwne it Selfe into all the parts of our Dominions and inflamed the hearts of many of our Subiects to see that glory of which they heard with soe much admiration, hath occasioned this bearer our Cosin, Subiect, and Servant WILLIAM Earle of DENBIGH to desire to be an eye witnes and to sattisfy his heart with the fulnes of your Princelie presence, and the glory of your royall Court and greatnes ; And this beinge the onlie cause of his vndertakinge Soe longe a Voyage, Wee haue bine content to spare him from our necessarie Service : being one of the Princes of our Kingdome, famous in Armes, and faithfull in Councell, who hath Served us in our Court and Warre, as Admirall and cheife Comaunder of our Victorious Armado's and fleets at Sea. We shall therefore desire you to receive him and to extend vnto him your grace and favour in that measure, as to our freindship, the greatnes of your owne bounty, and his meritt and quality shall be requisite, and to give him leave, when he hath sattisfied himselfe with the abundance of your glorie, to returne vnto vs to bringe vs the welcome newes and assurance of your health and prosperity, which shalbe to vs, as acceptable as the gold and spices of both the INDIES. Soe Wee pray vnto the ALMIGHTY GOD to honor and blesse all those that depend vpon him. Given at our royall pallace of WESTMINSTER in the sixt yeare of our raigne, and of our obedience to the blessed Law of JESUS the Sonne of GOD, and onelie Saviour of Man, 1630."

(No. 2). "CHARLES by the grace of GOD, &c.

"To the Excellent and prudent Lord, Nabob ASUPH CHAN,* favoured of the mightye Emperour SHAUGH JEHAN great MOGUL, director of the wise and faythfull Councells of the Easterne Empire, sendeth greeting. Remembring with pleasure the Relations of our Servant the Elect Sr. THO: ROWE Ambassadour of the King our father of euery glorious memorie vnto the most famous JEHAN GEIR Padesha, and particularly the report which he made in our Royall presence, of your humanitie, magnificence, and wisdom, not only in the managing of most high affayres within your owne Kingdomes : but also the grace and protection which you haue extended toward all strangers : especially to those our servants and Subiects whom wee haue sent vnto your famous Court : And being confidently assured that you continue in the same affection to vs, and to our subiects—Wee haue thought fit by these our Royall and freindly letters to recomend vnto you our trustie and wellbeloued Cossen, Servant and Subiect WILLM. Earle of DENBEIGH : who being a Prince of our Kingdome, whom wee haue formerly employed as Admirall of our Victorious Armadoes at Sea, being now transported with the fame and glorie of your Empire, hath desired to

* This must be YAMÍN-UD-DAULA, styled A'SAF KHÁN, who was Wazír of the Emperour JAHÁNGÍR, and brother of the famous NÚRJAHÁN. Died, 1641.

see that Prince and Court so renowned in the remotest parts of the World. Wee shall therefore desire you to receiue and enterteyn him according to his qualetye, and our freindshipp: which as it shall add but the fame of your wisdome and Curtesye: so wee shall lay it vp in a gratefull memorie, and shall wish your encrease of honour, and authority, in the presence of your glorious Lord: prosperitie in all your affayres, and mercye from the great God, Creator of heauen and earth."

"CHARLES by the Grace of God, &c.

(No. 3). "To the great and valiant Lord: Nabob CHAN CHANNA,* Generall of the victorious Armes of the mighty Emperour of INDIA, sendeth greeting:

"The Courtesie which you haue showed vnto our seruants and Subiects, that we haue either sent or for their own affayres haue trauailed into your Countrey, hauing beene made knowne, and related in our Royall presence, as it hath deserved our acceptance, and thanks: so it hath giuen vs assurance that you will continue to receiue and favour strangers, and men of honour, who only for renowne and fame doe desire to see the most remote parts of the world. Wee then hauing given leaue to this our Cossen, Servant, and Subiect WILLM. Earle of DENBEIGH" (&c., nearly as in the last) "could not refuse to recommend him vnto you by these our Royall letters, being assured that you who are a soldier, valiant, and magnanimous will enterteyne a man of your owne profession, and as wee shall" (&c., nearly as the last).

(No. 4). "King CHARLES to the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"Trustie and wellbeloued Wee greet you well Whereas our Right Trustie and right well beloued Cosen WILLIAM Earle of DENBEIGH hath informed Vs of his earnest desire to travell for the increasing of his experience and enabling himself the better for our seruice When he shall bee required, and made humble request vnto Vs for our royall assent and permission, that he might make a iourney in Asia into the GREAT MOGULL his Countrey and also into PERSIA, Wee granting his request, and to further his laudable designe (knowing that his intended iourney would be too tedious and dangerous over land) doe hereby will and require you, to giue your order that the said Earle and his followers be receiued for his passage into the said Countries into the best or such one of your ships as he shall make choice of and shall bee soonest readie to goe for those parts, and therein haue allowed unto him and his Traine (consisting at the most of six persons) the great Cabine. And because he doth not intend nor desire to bee any Ways chargeable or troublesome Vnto your Companie or any thereof in this his iourney, But rather to further your Trade and profit as much as in him lyeth, And to take your aduice for his accommodation in his dyet and other things Whereof he himself will informe you, We are further pleased and Will graciously expect that you shall aduise and assist him, and likewise when he shall haue spent his time in those parts, and desire to remoue hether vnto Vs, then he bee againe receiued and vsed as he shall bee in his going thether—as a person Whome Wee tenderly doe

* Presumably MAHÁBAR KHÁN, KHÁN-KHÁNÁN. Died, 1633.

affect and Whose furtherance and Safetie in all things Wee most earnestly doe desire, wherein whatsoever you shall doe on his behalf you may bee assured that you shall haue both Vs mindfull and himself gratefull vpon any occasion.

"Given vnder our Signet At our Court in BEAULIEU. This 15 day of August, In the Sixt yeare of our raigne."

The above is endorsed "True Copie for the E. of DENBY." It is a *draft*, for there are many corrections and alterations.

The following is an imperfect draft in the same connection, but the intended tenor of it is not clear :

"Whereas we haue licensed our right trusty and right well beloued Cosen Earle of DENBIGH to visite the remote and Easterne parts of the World, and also Vppon that occasion to Salute in our name the Kings of PERSIA and MOGORE, with whom a person of his ranke and eminency can not but use honorable meanes of promoting the good correspondence and amity we are desirous to intertayne and cherish betwixt our Subjects and forrayne Nations for increase of trade : for this regard as well as also to doe honor to an Vndertaking of soe much generosity, which deserveth from all hands assistance and incouragement, wee haue thought fitt," &c.

The sight of these papers induced me to turn to the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), and guided by indications in the vols. for 1630-1633, I transcribed from the originals in the Record Office the following further notices of Lord DENBIGH'S voyage.

Extract of a letter from Captain JOHN MENNES :

"To my noble ffreind EDWARD NICOLAS Esquire," dated "DOWNES the 9th of ffebruary 1630" :

"I met the Lord DENBIGH one Wensday last at Sea ; whoe had felt the Storm one friday before in the DOWNES in soe much as it was a great Scape there reare admirall passt. . . ."

Postscript of a letter from ROBERT WOODWARD :

"To my very worthy and much esteemed frend Mr. FRANCIS WINDEBANK ;" dated "WESTMINSTER, 20th January, 1630" : *

"My Lord DENBIGH is gone last Weeke for the EAST INDYES."

* *I.e.* N.S. 1631. The day was Thursday and "last week" = 9th to 15th January.

Extract of a letter from Captain J. PENNINGTON, addressed :

"for his Majesties Especiall Affaires

"To the Right honorable : the Lords Commissioners for the Admiralty, at Court or else where,

"*hast, hast, hast*

"*post, post*

"*hast, hast hast*

"J. PENNINGTON

"ffrom aboard his Majesties Shippe *Vauntgarde* Rydinge in PLIMOUTH SOUND, this 15th of July 1633 : at Eight a Clocke at Night :

" . . . for any other Pyrate, or TURKE I can neither meete with nor heere of any vpon the Coast, though I haue continually kept the Sea, and Ply'd to, and againe since I wrought your Lordships from hence. Vpon the 13th present, betwixt SILLY and the LANDS END I came vp with the *Jewell* of LONDON, one of our EAST INDIAN Shippes come from thence, whome I found much distressed both for want of Men and Victualls, both which I furnished them with, and brought him alongst with mee for this place. There came two other in Company with him from the Indyes, the *Starr* and the *Hopewell*, and they lost Company neere SILLY 4: or 6: dayes before I mett them, they were alsoe much distressed as these reporte, but what is become of them I can not learne, but I hope they haue recovered the Ile of WIGHT, or the DOWNES.

"They reported the Earle of DENBYE was in good health and purposed shortly to come home. And likewise that two of our EAST INDYA Shippes the *Swallow* and *Charles*, were Burnt by an Vnfortunate accident being in Harbour in a place near SURRAT, called SWALLOW-HOLE."*

Extract of a letter from JAMES HOWELLS :

"To the right honble : Sr: FRANCIS WINDEBANK, Knight, principall Secretary of State, and one of his Majesties most honble : Priuy Counsell ; this :"

"Westminster this 28 of Aug : 1633."

" . . . Our TURKY Marchants are like to suffer much by a fight that happened lately in the ARCHIPELAGO 'twixt 2 ENGLISH Shippes of Aldermann FREEMANS, who contrary to the capitulations of peace betweene Vs and the great TURK taking in a cargazon of corne for Italie, and perceiuing the 7 gallies of RHODES to make towards them, by way of prevention fearing to be surpris'd, they lett fly at them, sank the generall and slew the Pasha with diuers others, the 6 Gallies that remaind went and gaue aduise to the great fleet hard by consisting of 50 Gallies more who (as they yearly do) were come to leuy and carry home the TURKS tribut from GREECE and other parts adjacent, and in a dead calme made way to the

* SUWALI Roads, or SWALLY-HOLE, the once familiar name of the roadstead north of the TAPTI mouth, where ships for SURAT usually anchored, and discharged or took in cargo.

2 Shippes deviding them selfs into 4 squadrons. The Shippes hauing betweene them 140 men and neere vpon 50 peeces of Ordinance resisted manfully (preferring Death before Slauery) and sank 6 of the gallies, killed 2000: TURKS and fought till they were reduced to that extremity that setting fire to both the Shippes those which remaind being not many leapt into the Sea, and so were taken vp prisoners, but the great fleet of gallies is so tattered and torne that they haue lost this years voyage, and returned to the Port (CONSTANTINOPLE) empty. The Consulls and Marchants feare some barbarisme wilbe offered vpon their persons, or at least some fearfull *auerria* vpon their goods, this is Alderman FREEMANS relation.

"The Lo: DENBIGH is returnd from the great MOGOR, full of Jewells."

Only the last line of the preceding extract bears upon our little-known traveller; but I trust I may be forgiven for printing what goes before,—unpublished yet so far as I know,—an episode of English valour, as such almost worthy of a place beside the story of Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE and his *Revenge* in the preceding generation. True that in this case the merchants or skippers were in the wrong to begin with; but that hardly touches the mettle of their crews.

In the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, vol. iv. p. 254, there is the merest allusion to the Earl of DENBIGH'S travels in the East, and to his credentials. These are almost certainly the same that I have quoted from the copies in the Record Office. It is hardly conceivable that the reporter would have omitted to transcribe something of the travels themselves, had any such particulars existed in the family archives.

A search among the records in the India Office has produced only a few wretchedly meagre notices, hardly doing more than testify to the fact that Lord DENBIGH was in India; for the original reports from SURAT of the period appear not to have been preserved, and I find in these instances merely brief notes or abstracts of their contents, made at the EAST INDIA House after their receipt in LONDON. The handwriting, too, is cramped and difficult, but I think the following extracts embrace the whole touching our noble traveller:

(O. C. 1428.) Notes of a general letter from SURAT to the Company, of 24th April, 1632:

"The *Marie* and . . . intended to be employed on freight to MUSLIPATAM and from thence to PERSIA. . . .

"The Earle of DENBIGH, his intertynment with the MOGULL; he purposeth to go in the *Marie* whither she goeth."

(O. C. 1456.) Note from a SURAT letter of 4th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, N. S., 1633):

"The E. of DENBIE hath bin at Muslapatam and Persia in the *Marie*, and intends to return in the *James*."

(O. C. 1428.) Note of a letter of 25th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, 1633):

"The *Marie* and *Dolphin* to go to MISLEPATAM and BANTAM, if the *Maris* ladeing shall not be procured, to go directlie from SURRATT for LONDON."

(O. C. 1456.) Note of a letter of 27th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, 1633):

"The Ld. of DENBIGH hath satisfied us here for his owne and attendants diet to 5 January, for the future you are to (?) there."

And lastly (from same letter):

"The Earle of Denbigh oweth for 2 butte of Sacke."

The general skeleton of dates which is recoverable from the preceding meagre notices seems to be as follows:

January, 1631.—Lord DENBIGH left England (he would probably arrive some six months later).

April, 1632.—Lord DENBIGH had been entertained at the Court of SHÁH JAHÁN, and was on his way back to SURAT.

January, 1633.—Lord DENBIGH having visited MASULIPATAM and PERSIA in the ship *Mary*, had come back to SURAT, which he left again (in debt to the Factory for two butts of sack!), during the month indicated, for England, probably in the ship *James*.

July, 1633.—His approaching return home reported by the shipping from INDIA.

August, 1633.—He had arrived "full of jewels."

Thus we have only a space of eight months at most for a voyage from SURAT to MASULIPATAM, thence to PERSIA,

and back to SURAT. This hardly leaves possible any visit to the Court of Ispahan; and the commendation to the Sháh, and the inscription under the Voerst engraving, can be merely evidences that such a visit was once in contemplation.

However inefficient Lord Denbigh may have been as a naval commander, his death in the Civil War was that of a gallant soldier. He "from the beginning of the war," says CLARENDON, "with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in Prince RUPERT's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger." He was wounded with many hurts in the attack of "Bromicham" (April, 1643), and died two or three days after.

I turn to another Englishman of lineage probably as ancient as Lord DENBIGH's, who is found in India a quarter of a century later, as I have learned from a letter of the Court of Committees addressed to FORT ST. GEORGE, dated 27th February, 1657 (*i.e.*, 1658):

"There is remaining with you either at FORT ST. GEORGE or some other place on the COAST, an ENGLISH gentleman named Sr: HENRY SKIPWITH; the occasion of his leaving his native country is questionless known vnto you. This Gentleman in perticular we recommend vnto you, to vse him with that Civillitie and Curtesie as becometh a person of his quallitie, and that you afford him any such lawfull favour as is due and requirable from one Christian to another. Wee entend not hereby that he should be chargeable either to you or ourselues, but that he may be permitted to remaine with you and under your protection during his pleasure, and not sooner be sent home without our further order. And Soe the ALLMIGHTIE Keep you, and wee remaine

Your very loving ffrinds," &c.

Less than even in the case of the FEILDINGS does any tradition of this journey to INDIA appear to survive among the SKIPWITHS. There were formerly in that family three baronetcies held by branches of common descent, *viz.*, (1) SKIPWITH of NEWBOLD (cr. 1670, ext. 1790); (2) SKIPWITH of METHERINGHAM (cr. 1678, ext. 1756); (3) SKIPWITH

of PRESTWOULD (cr. 1622, and still flourishing). Sir Henry, the subject of the Court's recommendation, must be the second baronet of the PRESTWOULD branch, of whom I find nothing recorded except that he died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother GREY, who emigrated to VIRGINIA during the Protectorate, and there built a residence which he named PRESTWOULD. Sir HENRY, the first baronet, and father of this Sir HENRY and of Sir GREY, was a hearty Royalist, and was heavily fined by the Parliamentary sequestrators. And, his fortune being impaired, he sold his estates about 1653. Whether it was for reasons connected with politics and with these losses, or owing to some more personal misadventure, that the second Sir HENRY went to INDIA, remains unknown.

In the notices just given I use "*A Brief Account of the SKIPWITHS*," &c., by (the late) FULWAR SKIPWITH, of the Bengal Civil Service.* In the end of last century the young heir of the PRESTWOULD SKIPWITHS, another Sir GREY, after the family had flourished in VIRGINIA for nearly a century and a half, came to England on the death of the last male of the NEWBOLD branch, to whose estates he eventually succeeded.

I have found in a letter printed in Vol. V. of the Reports of the Historical Commission (p. 360) that Sir HENRY died in INDIA, and apparently before the Court's letter in his favour was written.

This letter, belonging to the papers of R. CHOLMONDELY, Esq., of CONDOVER HALL, SHROPSHIRE, is written by WILLIAM SMITH from the Factory at VERASHEROONE, Dec. 24, 1658. Among other things the writer says :

"I am placed in the healthiest place of all INDIA, on the coast of CORMONDELL. It is an inland town, some 40 ENGLISH miles from the Metropolitan Port and factory, which is called METCHLUPATAM. This country

* Printed for private circulation, Tunbridge Wells, 1867. The author, a dear friend and connexion of the present writer, was not aware of this Indian journey of his ancestor, which would have greatly interested him.

is level for 100 miles and more, not one hill to be seen ; abundance of wild fowl : the chiefest of our diet all the year long is wild ducks, and such like, Mr. ACOURT our chief, and Mr. Seymour our second, do very well agree. which is the life of our trade, . . . had I a good cloth coat with a large silver lace, which is all the wear here, and the badge of an ENGLISHMAN ; and on the contrary without it and other answerable to it, not esteemed nor regarded. The chiefest thing needful is a good hat. . . . I suppose you have heard of the death of Sir HENRY SKIPWORTH,* who died about a year and a half since, as I am informed, of grief, he having, as is said, lost his estate by a vessel which was cast away ; he died about 7 miles from hence at one Mr. WINTER's house, an ENGLISHMAN."

VERASHEROONE (properly *Viravāsaram*) was long a subordinate factory of the Company's, in the GODAVERY Delta, from before the middle of the seventeenth century.

The place where the unfortunate SKIPWITH died must have been MADAPOLLAM, the seat of another factory, with a Chief and Council ; and his host, Mr. WINTER, afterwards Sir EDWARD, was the chief performer some years later in a singular *coup d'état* at FORT ST. GEORGE. In 1665, his government of that settlement having terminated, and the succession having fallen to Mr. FOXCROFT, Winter on preposterous pretexts attacked FOXCROFT and his council, killing one of the latter and putting the others in arrest, whilst he reassumed the government. Apparently there was political feeling involved, for the king's government dealt very slackly with the offence : WINTER actually held the government for three years ; and never received any punishment.

I have recently been favoured with the perusal of a curious MS., belonging to ELIOT HOWARD, Esq., of Walthamstow, which bears the following title :

"ASIA ; wherein is contained ye : Scituation, comerse, customs, &c. : of many Provinces, Isles, &c. : in INDIA, PERSIA, ARABIA, and the SOUTH SEAS :

"Experienced by me J : B : in ye : forementioned INDIES. Vitzt : from Anno MDCLXIX. to MDCLXXIX."

* The two names are constantly confused, even now.

The owner will, I trust, himself give this work to the press some day, and I will therefore venture on but two brief extracts from it, premising only that the writer appears, from his own notices *obiter*, to have been a ship captain.

The following passage affords an example of the word *Cheroot*, years older than any I had found when issuing *Hobson-Jobson* (1886):

"The Poore Sort of Inhabitants *Vizt*: the GENTUES MALLABARS, &c. : Smoke theire tobacco after a very meane, but I Judge original manner: onely ye: leafed (*sic*) rowled up, and light one end holding ye: Other betweene their lips, and Smoke vntill it is soe farre consumed as to warme theire lips, and then heave ye: End away, this is called a *bunko*, and by ye: PORTUGALS a *Cheroota*." *

Again, speaking of the CHULIYAS in the Malay countries, he says : †

"The CHULIYARS are a People that range into all Kingdoms and Countreys in ASIA ; and are a Subtle and Roguish people of the Mahometan Sect, but not very great observers of many of his Laws ; theire natieue Land is vpon the Southward most parts of the CHOROMANDELL Coast ; they . . . doe learne to write and speak seuerall of the Eastern Languages, whereby they very much delude the people, and not a little cheat them, they are likewise a very great hinderance to us, for wherever these rascalls be, wee cannot Sell any goods to a Native of the Countrey but they creep in alonge with them, and tell them in private what our goods cost upon the COAST, or in SURATT and BENGALA, or elsewhere, which doth many Christians a great prejudice."

The following letters in the India Records appear to indicate that the writer, though he may have been engaged more or less in business, had something of the intelligent curiosity which attaches to the name of "traveller" properly applied.

(O.C. 4384). (*From Mr. ISAAC LAURENCE, to Mr. RICHARD EDWARDS, chief of the Factory at BALASORE.*)

* *Buncus* or *bunco*, an old word for a cheroot, used down to the middle of last century ; apparently from Malay *bungkus*, "a wrapper."

† *Chúliá* is a name given in Ceylon and in Malabar to a particular class of Mahomedans. There is much obscurity about the origin and proper application of the name, which is found in IBN BATUTA.

"SURAT, *March* the 25th, 1678.

"MR. RICHARD EDWARDS.

"My Honour'd Friend,—I was in great hopes the returne of this Voyage would have made me happy in a Personall renuance of our late acquaintance and Friendship, but Providence the prime Director of all our affairs having otherwise disposed of me by a present settlement here I dare not omitt this opportunity of saluting you with renewed and hearty thanks for your many favours and great kindnes towards me, which goodnes of yours makes me presume in a continued trouble to you, though on a friend's behalfe towards the satisfying his Curiosity as to a Relation of the Vestigij or Ruines of yt : once famous Citty (*blank*) the Regall Seat of the ancient BENGAL Kings : I remember you was pleased once by word of Mouth to give me a short relation of what you had seene there, 'tis my earnest and humble request you would againe afford me it in writing for the satisfaction of my Friend, that is, what part of said Citty may be yet remayning, with a description of its Circuits, the height, bredth, and materialls of its Walls, the King's Pallace, the manner of building and how adorn'd, whither with Statues or otherwise, how long since the Mogre hath been Master of it, with some Short Account of the Nabobs Revenue and Government, the severall Casts of People you have observed to be in those parts, with their Religion, Customes and manners (as farr as you can discover) with what else you shall iudge may be worth my friend's knowledge, with the Nature of your soyle, and severall Commodities of that Country, or what else remarkeable in it. The principall reason for these my requests is the excellency of your disposition and temper of mind, which is as forward to oblige as any can be to aske, besides the large proficiency you have made in the knowledge of what's materiall in those parts, all which seeme to plead and to excuse this my boldnes, since 'twill not be more easy than satisfactory to you to pleasure your friends out of the rich Treasury of your ingenious observations, the commendable character of your Fame and worth. Deare Sr : in what I may be serviceable to you in requitall of this my freedome with you, take a frank Revenge for I am in all sincerity and Affection

"Your Most faithfull Humble Servant

"ISAAC LAURENCE."

And again :

(O.C. 4617).

"MR. RICHARD EDWARDS.

"Worthy Sr :—I presumed the last yeare to trouble you with a few lines by the Shipp *Good Hope* wherein requested your reply to severall perticulers, as Your Observations on the Trade, Manufactures, and fertillity of the Kingdome of BENGAL, together with what Antiquities it affords, especially as to the Ruins of that famous Citty, or be it Regall Palace near to RAJUMALE which I have heard you discourse off, as likewise the Rites, Customes and Manners of those People and the Severall Casts amongst them, with what else you might have iudged materiall and worthy the participation of my Friend in ENGLAND for whose Satisfaction I desir'd it, but I have not hitherto been favour'd with your Courteous reply, which

I shall hope at receipt hereof, being assured my other letter came to your hand, in which were more perticulers than I can now call to mind.

"Wherein I may be Servicable to you in these Parts pray favour me with your Commands without any discouragements from Captain PITT, who is greatly offended because all things answered not his unreasonable unexpectations (*sic*), with tender of due respects

"I Remaine, Sr :

"Your Most Affectionate Friend and Humble Servant,

"ISAAC LAURENCE."

"GOMBROONE, *June* ye : 14th : 1679.

"Capt. PITT and I had seuerall bickerings here, but thanke Heauen we parted very good frds : and so shall continue.

"I. L."

The city alluded to in the foregoing letters is of course GAUR, whose singular remains and vast area are spoken of in De Couto's history, published at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and in Valentyn's great history of the Dutch East Indies, published nearly half a century after Mr. LAURENCE's inquiries. The ruins there appear to have attracted the interest of the English Company's servants long before we find other indications of archæological investigation; and in 1684, Mr. Hedges in his diary speaks of a sort of picnic to the site, in which his wife took part.

The Capt. PITT spoken of by Mr. Laurence in his letter from GOMBROON in the Gulf, is "TOM PITT," then a young, adventurous, and interloping skipper, afterwards, by strange fate, Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, owner of the finest diamond in the world, and progenitor of the most illustrious family of English statesmen.

We hear of an early *shikâr* party visiting India, in the *New Account* of the shrewd and somewhat vulgar Scot, Capt. ALEX. HAMILTON :

"This Country" (about CARWAR on the Western Coast of INDIA) "is so famous for hunting that two Gentlemen of Distinction, viz., Mr. LEMBOURG of the House of LEMBOURG in GERMANY, and Mr. GORING, a Son of my Lord GORING's in ENGLAND, went *incognito* in one of the EAST INDIA Company's Ships for INDIA.

"... They spent three Years at CARWAR, viz., from *Anno* 1678 to 1681. Then being tired with that Sort of Pleasure they took Passage on

board a Company's Ship for ENGLAND, but Mr. GORING died four Days after the Ship's Departure from CARWAR, and he's buried on the Island of ST. MARY, about four Leagues from the Shore, off BATACOLA, and Mr. LEMBOURG returned Safe to ENGLAND." *

Further search will doubtless produce other examples of the early tourist. Thus Governor PITT, recently mentioned—in a letter to the governor of the Company from FORT ST. GEORGE, under date Feb. 11, 1699 (1700), writes :—

" . . . Here is Allsoe Mr. BARTIE, My Lord ABINGDON'S Son, who I have in all respects oblidg'd to the utmost of my power, knowing he has great relations, and that itt may be a means to unite 'em to your Interest, he is a very good Sort of Gentleman, and has behaved himselfe very oblidging."

But I must close with the following (apparently addressed to the Court of the New EAST INDIA Company) :

" On board his Majestie's Ship, ye : *Hastings*, May 9th, 1701.

" Hond : Srs :—Your Honours may very well wonder that I should haue the confidence to assume to write to you being altogether a Stranger, but hauing the happiness to make a voyage to INDIA to compleat my fathers works who trauelled INDIA ouer at time(s) and Designing them for the press as soon as possible, thought my Self obliged hauing received So many fauours at SURRATT from Sr : NICH : WAITE and knowing how affairs goe their, to let you know that when arriue in ENGLAND can and will (if required) give your Honrs : a just and true account of all occurrences relating to your business, and wish could haue come home in the *Canterbury*, but hauing such an ill conditioned fellow of a Captain to deall with, being so very apt to giue such Scuruy language, could neuer brook the thoughts of coming home in his Ship tho' I haue endeauour'd (as far as honour and reputation would permit me) to obleige him but could not : what the Captain has said relating to your honours Affairs since came from SURRATT Shall leiuue whilst arriue, it being too tedious for a letter and likewise not hauing time, the Shipp being to lieue us on the morning. I receiued a letter from Sr : NICH : WAITE when I was Imbarked on board the Shipp for Sailing, wherein he informs me that the Old Factory had giuen the Gouvernor 100,000 *Ru* : and the Meer 25,000 *Ru* : and that the *Voconouis* and *Harcarra* had dispatcht away an express to inform the King thereof. This hoping that you will pardon the stile and the planeness hauing no time for correction is all from

" Your very humble servant to command

" PRATT TYSON

" Clerk."

* 'New Account of the EAST INDIES,' ed. 1744, i. 263-4.

I can find nothing, as yet, regarding any works of Mr. TYSON's father, or publications of his own. Sir NICHOLAS WAITE, whom he twice mentions, was the first President for the New Company, and afterwards for the United Company, at SURAT. He was a son of Colonel THOMAS WAITE, one of King CHARLES's judges, a dismissed servant of the Old East India Company, and a truculent bully. He promoted, if he did not procure, the long confinement of Sir JOHN GAYER, President for the Old Company, by the Mahommedan Governor of SURAT; and he became himself so intolerable to his own Council that in 1708 they deposed and imprisoned him. The latter fact seems unknown to all the chroniclers and historians of British Indian affairs.

H. YULE.

NATIONAL CONGRESS IN INDIA.

THE growth of public opinion in India is due to many causes. Western culture, importation of Western ideas through the English press and a free Indian press, though still in its infancy, have one and all contributed towards its development.

The national Congress may be looked upon as its latest manifestation, and it is with respect to this subject that I purpose to discuss the great movement towards national life in India.

The origin and growth of the Congress are still fresh in the minds of men, and hence do not require to be treated at large. My observations, therefore, will be confined to the discussion of some of the vital questions that lie at its root. The most prominent of these are, first, the importance and position of the Congress ; and, secondly, its objects and aspirations.

The treatment of the first question makes it necessary to speak of national congresses in general. It is an admitted fact, that they are now looked upon in civilized countries subject to no foreign rule, and that have passed through political phases, the political instincts of the people of which have been developed, as useful institutions, representing as they do the best intellect, the mature intelligence, the sound judgment, and the sagacity, foresight, and wisdom of nations.

They reflect the opinions of the people, and are the medium between them and the Government. Their position is one of trust and responsibility. They carry great weight with them, as they represent the people ; and the civilized Governments have to mould their administra-

tive policies, to a great extent, in accordance with the views they hold of State questions. This is true of congresses in general, and let us see how far this is true of our Indian Congress.

So far as the first element is concerned, viz. : that congresses in general consist of intellectual and intelligent men, I admit that our national Congress does not lack them, though it is a matter of surprise, that still many educated and enlightened gentlemen, who are best fitted for it, by reason of their position and the influence they hold with the people, are keeping aloof, and their place is supplied only with imperfectly educated men. But this does not seem to me to be such an important element in a Congress as the other one, viz. : that it should be a representative body, for, unless it be such, it can either hardly guide the people, or influence the Government with its opinions.

Representation implies three things—

- (1) An educated and enlightened class ;
- (2) A politically trained people ; and
- (3) A consequent touch between the two classes.

The first condition of representation is not wanting in India, though if we take the immense population of that country into consideration, the proportion which the educated class bears to the uneducated is very insignificant—perhaps a drop in the ocean. And unless the number of educated men be adequate, they cannot be expected to exercise that amount of influence falling to the lot of educated classes in the civilized countries of Europe. But admitting for argument's sake that there does exist an educated class, which could guide the people, we are reminded at the same time of the stern fact, that the masses are still illiterate and ignorant, and consequently politically untrained.

Political training means, passing through constitutional changes, which affect the rights and privileges of the people.

In India such changes have been unknown, as despotism in some form or other has been its Government. Changes which affected India, prior to the establishment of British supremacy were changes more or less of rulers than those of rights and privileges. In fact, the people had no rights and privileges under the several dynasties that ruled in that country—the will of the monarch was irresistible—they had to yield their wishes and aspirations to it, and bow to his mandates, as he was supposed to be a divine being, to dispute whose authority was a sacrilegious act. However, with the advent of the English the state of affairs changed, though they had also to act for some time on the lines laid down by the old Governments.

Political training in India may be said to date from the administration of Lord Mayo, who sowed the seed of local self-government. It is worth while to examine, whether the people, in the short period intervening between the rule of Lord Mayo, and the year 1888, with primary education still struggling to obtain a footing amongst them, have developed their political instincts to such a degree and extent, as to understand the principles of a representative Government and to look upon the educated classes as their representatives in political matters. But here I anticipate an objection, which must be disposed of before I proceed with the subject.

The so-called Congressionists seem to think that the holding of congresses in the great centres of India from year to year is the best mode of educating the people politically. If this is their real view of the subject, I am afraid they are in the wrong, for they want to begin political education not only at the wrong end, but they ignore the most important fact that primary education must precede political training.

To revert to the subject, then, it seems impossible to believe that the political instincts of the people could have developed to such an extent, or primary education could have progressed amongst them so far as to enable them

to understand the political movements going on in India.

I really cannot understand how the people, who have shown little or no interest in the "District Boards and Municipal Corporations" established in connection with local self-government, which involve their best interests as far as the question of education, sanitation, and taxation are concerned, can be moved to take an interest in State questions, involving, as they do, momentous administrative changes, which tend rather to the perfection of government than to the interests of the people. It is argued that the ryot of India is a much more intelligent being than the labourer of England, and hence, when political movements are in full swing in England, the same should be the case in India. To me this theory seems to be a delusion. Setting aside the comparative intelligence of the Indian ryot, and the English labourer, I maintain that it is not so much a question of mental acuteness as of political capacity that we must consider. We have not to take into account so much their intelligence as their conception of constitutional rights and privileges, and their familiarity with the elective system. Now in India, as political changes, in a constitutional sense, have been quite unknown, the people do not understand the system of election.

These facts are patent from the apathy they show with regard to District Boards and Municipal Corporations, and from their lack of interest in the selection of delegates for the so-called National Indian Congresses. The delegates chosen for the last National Congress that held its sittings at Madras were not the representatives or leaders of the people, but were simply men chosen by the educated cliques, which have chiefly to do with these Congresses. The upshot of this was (I speak chiefly of the North-western Provinces and Oude, from which I come) that strictly speaking, no representation whatever was made at the last Congress of the different tribes and classes, which inhabit the vast Indian peninsula.

The case of Benares, which is a very large and representative town of the North-western Provinces is in point. Four gentlemen, two Bengalis, one a Panjaba Kshatri, and the other a Brahman went to represent that city. Now judging of this either from the immense population of the town or from the different castes and tribes which inhabit it, we are forced to say that Benares was represented in no sense at the Madras Congress. Had educated gentlemen, who represent the different tribes and classes in that great city, been elected by the members of their communities as delegates, the case would have been quite different. Allahabad, which is the capital of the North-western Provinces, and another large town was similarly represented. This shows practically the nature of the representation made at the last Congress, and the public is the best judge as to what importance should be attached to it.

A Congress, which is not a representative body is, as far as I can see, not likely to command any influence, or to guide public opinion and hence it does not occupy any important position in the country. However, I now leave the question of representation, and come to the objects and aspirations of the Congress. Its object seems to be the political unity of the people, so that they may be able to combine and organize politically, and secure thereby certain constitutional changes in the administrations of India.

Political unity in a country like India seems to be an impossibility. Its situation, its physical features, its different religions, and its peculiarly constituted societies are great obstacles to political unity. It is a country, which embraces an area equal to two-thirds of that of Europe, and is surrounded on all sides by semi-barbarous regions. It is parcelled into different tracts, which constitute in themselves petty separate countries—so to speak—having different religions, different customs and manners, and different peoples. Its constitution of societies presents a striking contrast to those of the other civilized countries of the world.

The people of even one tribe are divided into different castes, which makes it impossible for the members of one caste to have any social intercourse with those of another. This gives rise to heart-burnings and dissensions, and creates different interests, making political combination or organization even amongst the members of one tribe impossible. In considering this question, there is yet another important element which should be taken into account. The Mahomedan population in India is neither small nor insignificant. As the late rulers of the country they have a sense of their own dignity and importance. Their religion differs materially from the different Hindu religions. They seem to be animated by different motives and different interests. This is clear from the protests the majority of them have made in the different parts of the country against the Congress.

The rule of India by a foreign nation, though just and tolerant of legitimate aspirations, is a third element which must be considered in discussing the question of political unity. For the several reasons assigned above, it seems impossible, till religious and caste distinctions and selfish interests disappear by reason of advanced education and social reforms, to effect any political unity. And it is really to be regretted that Indians, instead of attending to education and social reform for the ultimate attainment of their object, engage in political movements, which the present state of the country does not call for.

The history of civilized institutions teaches beyond doubt that social reform precedes political reforms, and that in no country was political unity effected before the people had socially reformed themselves.

It is sad, however, to think that we do not take such a noble lesson, based upon the wisdom and experience of our ancestors, to heart.

The political unity of the people is sought for by the Congressionists with a view to secure certain constitutional changes in the administration of India, and hence it seems

desirable to consider the present administrative machinery, and see what and how far changes are necessary. Every act is dictated by a sense of its necessity and policy, and assuming this to be the standard of my examination, I proceed to the discussion of the subject. The changes advocated by the Congress refer to the legislative as well as to the executive part of the Government, and there are some changes which come under a general administrative policy. Briefly stated, the changes which in the opinion of the Congressionist deserve the serious consideration of the Government are—

1. Separation of judicial from executive functions.
2. Opening of military service to the natives of India.
3. The expansion and reform of the Council of Governor-General.
4. A system of volunteering for Indians.
5. Decrease in the taxable minimum of Income Tax.
6. Elaboration of a system of technical education.
7. Repeal of the Arms Act.

Before considering these changes separately, it seems necessary to advert to the discussion of a point on which much stress is laid by the Congressionists. They profess they have no radical aims and want to proceed upon cautious and conservative lines to obtain certain definite developments of existing institutions.

Judging of their aims by the changes they advocate, it is obvious that these are as radical in spirit and principle as possible. Just imagine what would be the effect over the administration of the country, if all these changes are to be introduced at once. Will not the Government of India be changed entirely? Separation of the judicial from the executive functions implies without doubt a sweeping change. When such a change takes place the executive function now discharged by judicial officers will have to be replaced by town councils, which seems to be the day-dream of the Congressionists. This is the meaning of their first resolution, and when this is the case, the charge of radicalism

imputed to the Congress cannot be denied. Conservatism does not imply either the introduction of so many changes *at once* or of changes like some of those advocated by the Congress.

It must be borne in mind that now, after a lapse of centuries of political growth, County Councils, which correspond to Town Councils, have been granted to England, and their introduction into a country like India, which is quite unripe for them, will mean nothing more than the planting of radical institutions uncalled for by the circumstances of the country.

The two resolutions about the opening of the military service in its higher grades and a system of Indian volunteering seem to refer solely to the administrative policy of the Government. The changes though likely to furnish an outlet for the martial energies of the scions of the noble families of Rajputs and Sikhs can only be effected if the Government think that they are necessary, and that they will be in the interests of good government.

It is still a doubtful matter whether it will be a wise policy on the part of the Government to inaugurate a wholesale system of volunteering for India. However, the Government is the best judge of it, and I need not enlarge upon it.

The resolutions which refer to technical education and decrease in the taxable minimum of Income Tax do not deserve much consideration, as while decrease in the taxable minimum refers only to detail and not to the general policy of the Government, technical education is already receiving much attention at the hands of the Government. The initiative which Lord Reay has taken in the matter is a cogent proof that the Government has taken up the subject in right earnest, though much cannot be done at once, as the enterprise must be regulated by the demand for technical education. There still remain to be considered two important resolutions, viz : the repeal of the Arms Act and the expansion and reform of the legislative Council of

the Governor-General of India. It is very difficult to say how far the Government is prepared to act with respect to the first resolution. Already they have made ample provisions for good and respectable citizens to possess and retain arms, and it is doubtful whether it will be a wise policy on the part of the Government to arm the rabble, in a country where religious and tribal antipathies make disturbances and intestine quarrels frequent, and thus enable them to cut each other's throat. A striking example of this was shown in the disturbances that occurred in Northern India two years ago, on the occasion of the Ramlila and Ida festivals.

However, the second resolution deserves the serious consideration of the Government. It is a resolution which has a material bearing upon the future administration of India. The opinion seems to be gaining ground that the time has come when the question of the expansion of the Council of the Governor-General should be considered, and that reform should be based upon some broad and representative system. As constituted at present, it is more of a bureaucracy than a popular Council.

The most important administrative problem, both before the Government of India and the country, is how to reform the Supreme and Provincial Councils, so as to place them on a broader basis. Certainly two or three Indians sitting on the Council cannot advise the Government with respect to the varied legislations which refer to the whole of India. They cannot enter into the feelings of the people for whose sake the laws are made unless they come from the part of the country to which these refer, which is seldom the case. The first necessity seems to be to increase the number of Indian gentlemen on the Councils, so that the whole country may be fairly represented. But as the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General involve changes, which must affect the several Provincial or minor Councils, it seems desirable to treat of them first, and see how they could be reformed in

accordance with the circumstances of the case. At present India has four such Councils, and probably the Punjab and the Central Provinces, which have no Councils at present, will get them shortly. When this is done, there will be the Council of the Governor-General, or what may be called the Supreme Indian Council, and six minor Councils.

I may be permitted to make a few practical suggestions as to the construction of minor Councils, as when they are based upon a representative system it will be easy to expand the Supreme Indian Council by delegating members from each of the minor Councils. I think I can best explain my scheme by considering my own Provinces (North-west Province and Oude). In the North-western Provinces there are six territorial divisions, and under each division six or seven districts are grouped, the majority of which (districts) have Municipal Corporations, which are elected bodies. These Corporations should be asked to nominate members for the Council, and the local Government should select one member for each division on the principle of the majority of votes and the general fitness of nominees. A Provincial Council constructed on the above system will not only have the advantage of being represented by a sufficient number of representative gentlemen, intimately acquainted with the divisions they will represent, but will also not exclude members of non-official European communities, who generally belong to the Municipal Corporations, from getting into the Council, if they are elected by their Corporations and selected by the Government. This will be the non-official element in the Council, and the Government might reserve to itself the right of appointing a certain number of members, who may be Government officers of proved merit and experience.

The question as to the proportion which non-official members should bear to official members is a question which admits of diversity of opinion. I myself am inclined to think that an equal number of official and non-official members will do till the Council is thoroughly developed

and placed upon an entirely representative system. Thus the Council for the North-western Provinces would have twelve members—six official and six non-official. If Oude is also taken into consideration, the number of members will rise to eighteen, as there are three divisions in that province. I firmly believe that if the minor Councils are constructed on the above principle, no objection could be raised either on the ground of insufficiency of representation or of the fitness or mode of selection of members. When all councils are constructed in this way, members might be delegated from them to the Council of the Governor-General. It is, of course, obvious that delegated members, trained in Provincial Councils, and possessed of provincial experience, will be of more help to the Government of India in general legislation than two or three members selected according to the present system for the Council of the Governor-General, and whose advice is only of value for their own provinces.

I believe one member (non-official) from each minor Council (Provincial) will be sufficient for the Governor-General's Council, strengthened by an equal number of members selected direct by the Governor-General himself.

To sum up, then. The National Indian Congress as it now exists cannot be looked upon as a representative body, for it is not in touch with the people. The objects which it has in view cannot be achieved. Unity of the people cannot be effected, owing to the diversity of religious, tribal, and racial jealousies and caste prejudices. Until these disappear by the spread of education and social reforms, representative government, as it is understood in England, is impossible.

Only one of the other resolutions passed at the last Congress is worthy of serious consideration, and that is the scheme of reform for the Supreme and Provincial Councils, which might be reorganized by election from the Municipal Corporations somewhat after the manner suggested.

UMA SANKAR MISRA.

IS INDIA LOYAL ?

To the question which forms the title of this article I unhesitatingly offer an answer in the affirmative; for India is as loyal as, under her present circumstances, she can possibly be. Some critics, suffering under the burden of what they are pleased to call a *historical conscience*, deny that India is a *conquered country*; but they will hardly object to a description which represents her as a *subject country*, or, to avoid even the shadow of an offence, that the government of India is in the hands of a people who may, without violence to facts, be called *foreigners*. For foreign they are in race, creed, and colour to the natives of India, and, as a consequence of differences on such important points, there is no affinity between the governors and the governed either in their modes of life or habits of thought. When, with such difficulties as these before us, we view the present condition of the people of India, and the success with which they are governed, we feel satisfied that such things could not possibly be unless India was essentially loyal.

Had the mutiny of the Bengal army drawn the sympathy of the people of India, the pacification of that country and the restoration of British authority there would have taxed the wisdom, courage, and energies of the British people as they had never been taxed before. Neither at the beginning of these troubles, nor during their continuance, was the large majority of the Indian people hostile to the government of their country. Notwithstanding the harrowing records of cruelty and lawlessness, which chiefly belong to the early history of those terrible days, the history of the Indian Mutiny is a record of the loyalty

of the majority of the Indian people to their foreign rulers. Once again, and not very long ago, when Russia threatened the government of "our ally at Kabul," and war with England appeared imminent, India stood loyally by the side of her British rulers. It was only natural that the army should have felt eager to avenge the "outrage" at Panjdeh, but its enthusiasm was shared by the chiefs and the people to a degree unexpected by her warmest admirers.

But it cannot be denied that India is not loyal in the sense in which England is loyal to her Queen, or Russia to her White Czar. The cause of this qualified form of loyalty is not far to seek; for unless the people of India understand the motives and actions of their governors, it is impossible for them to offer to the government that form of loyalty which is founded on sympathy. With social intercourse practically unknown between them, there may yet be among the subject races a spirit of loyal obedience to their government; but they cannot pretend to any feeling of loyal attachment to the government of a people whose ways and manners are a puzzle to their intelligence.

But we are tempted to ask, What have we done for the people of India to deserve their goodwill and sympathy? The only honest answer we can make to the question is a disappointing one, for we must admit that we have done hardly anything. We have described the difficulties which beset the British government in India, and although we are not anxious to adjudge between the governors and the governed the credit or discredit of the existing state of things, it is undeniably true that we have done little or nothing on which we can base our claim to their sympathy. We can easily succeed in making a very strong case for our right to their loyalty, and to that extent our right has been acknowledged and our demand discharged, and we have no cause to complain. But national memory is proverbially short. United India, unknown to the history of the past, has been realized under the protection of British arms and by the wisdom of British statesmen; but this is

an old blessing, and we do not discern now much thankfulness on the part of the people for it. At grand State functions we have an official display of this feeling by our Indian fellow-subjects, and there is an appearance at times of even vitality in such loyal demonstrations,—as if they really went beyond ordinary formality. Past troubles are soon forgotten; a new generation forgets the sufferings of its predecessors; and the security of person and property, which was once a novelty, and for which no expression of gratitude was too warm, is looked upon now as the ordinary duty of the Government, and for which, it is said, its services are sufficiently paid by “an over-taxed country.”

As a means—perhaps the only means—of minimizing the chances of such undeserved forgetfulness of the claims of our government, we must cultivate a relation with our Indian fellow-subjects which may form “a bond of sympathy,” and which may arouse feelings of gratitude and affection for a government which has, as a rule, laboured honestly for the welfare of its subjects. Lord Lansdowne, in his reply to an address presented to him by certain Indian gentlemen at the house of Lord Northbrook, not many months ago, perhaps anticipated the happy times which are yet to come when he said that “the British Crown had come to rest on the sympathy and goodwill of the governed.” We are familiar with instances of goodwill and sympathy between individual Englishmen and individual Indians, but for all that the British Crown cannot as yet be said to rest on the sympathy of the people of India. Where social intercourse is such as we have described it, *sympathetic loyalty* will continue to be “a good to be wished for.” This non-existing sentiment is such a powerful agent in promoting successful government, that we must strain every nerve to secure it.

Indian loyalty, such as we find it, may be traced to interested motives. India is loyal because she cannot manage her affairs as we can manage them for her; she is loyal because she is dependent; she is loyal, in short, be-

cause she has not as yet discovered a friend better than ourselves. If the British government in India is not as satisfactory as it may be, it is certainly the best the country has yet known.

The native press as a whole has unfortunately acquired an evil reputation ; to only a few of its members is given the wisdom to help the government of their country ; some waste their energies in speculation of little or no practical value ; some supply materials to the evil disposed, partly in ignorance of their character and partly with *malice prepense*. The Bengali press, we admit with regret, is a greater offender in this respect than the press elsewhere ; and with its greater power for good it also possesses a greater power for evil. The criticism of its disaffected members would be fraught with danger to public security, but that the influence of these "public instructors" is not what it is generally supposed to be. The bulk of the people do not care for criticism on public measures ; they hardly understand it. The relation between the people and the press is neither intimate nor sympathetic ; "They write for the belly," is the summary of the judgment of the people at large on press censures. The people (we especially refer to the natives of the "North-West" and the Punjab) wonder at the patience of a government which permits such license as these would-be "guardians of public opinion" habitually indulge in. Hostile criticism of public measures, when *bonâ fide*, is an invaluable acquisition for a foreign government, whether it is supplied by private individuals or the public press. The native press itself (we speak of it generally) thinks criticism, especially of a hostile character, its first and last duty to the public ; but we confess that not seldom it confounds its sense of duty with its dislike for the government, and mistakes wholesale abuse of its measures for a fair judgment on them. But, for all that, the native press does not desire revolution, even if its actions may lead to it ; it would like to see us in difficulty—perhaps in the hope that it may improve us ; but we are very much

mistaken if it would accept any other government as a substitute for the British Government. A government which does not put any restraint on the liberty of the press is, by an irony of fate, the safest and the most prominent object for its attacks. But the native press does not require to be told, that under no other government on the face of the earth could it enjoy the liberty which is assured to it by the British Government—which in the discharge of its high public duties is regardless of censure, whether it comes from the Indian or the English press.

But the license of the native press is one of the results of our public policy, and we do not believe that our critics, however bitter they may be, will so far forget their own interests as to endanger the security of the government under which they live. If the native press is unfair in its criticisms, and only vituperative when it should be critical, it is entirely due to the condition of its existence. A people who have not known disciplined liberty, who have had no voice in the government of their country, find themselves all of a sudden in a position of unrestrained freedom, and though not responsible for the government of their country, are at liberty to indulge in unlimited abuse against it. The first burst of the light of freedom has a dazing effect; the first feeling of power is not controlled by discretion; and under such circumstances we must be prepared for a large measure of disappointment. Every appearance of an injury will be exaggerated by the newly enfranchised community into an act of absolute tyranny, and every failure of an unreasonable demand will be debited to the government as the unjust suppression of "national aspiration." *

We repeat again that the loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects is the loyalty of a people who has loyalty to help the

* The *Rast Goftar*, a Conservative reformer, thus remarked on the unfair demands of the native Radicals: "In the fervency of their political ardour they do not care to see that the very best intentioned Viceroy is but a creature of circumstances, and that in shaping his policy he has to consider what is expedient side by side with what is just."

government that they may be free and happy, and such results have been ensured to them by a government which has acted honestly by its great charge. As long as our interests and the interests of the people of India are joint, and as long as these interests are best promoted by *Pax Britannica*, we will not neglect the duties of good government, and the people of India the duties of loyalty.

But the condition of "social intercourse" in India, bad as it is, is as yet not a source of imminent danger to the security of the British Government; the loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects is part of the strength of our government. But the time is not distant when this "business-like" relation will not suffice; the more we have to stand in need of their active allegiance, the more we shall feel the need of the sympathetic loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects, and the more pressing will be the duty of our cultivating friendly relations with them. Lord Lansdowne's happy remarks, on the occasion already referred to, deserve to be considered by the rulers as well as the people of India; his lordship observed "that it would greatly help to lighten the burden of heavy responsibility which rested on the shoulders of those engaged in the government of India" to have "the sympathy and co-operation of the Indian people."

There can be no sympathy, and only a half-hearted co-operation, between the government and the people of India without mutual understanding, and this understanding must rest on mutual knowledge; and we must direct our best energies to the acquisition of this knowledge. A supercilious vapouring, all perhaps from a strong conviction of inferiority, on the part of the natives, and a supercilious indifference to their feelings on the part of the English, are certainly not the means by which this knowledge is to be attained. The means for its attainment are happily not among the mysteries of life; fifty years hence both sides will command a larger amount of the wisdom which lies in forbearance to each other's faults, and in the appreciation of the virtues which each side may justly claim.

A state of transition is beset with its peculiar evils, and self-assertion in a provoking form is one of them; when this weakness is used as a means of drawing the goodwill and sympathy of those who are both watching and (consciously or unconsciously) promoting the completion of this unsatisfactory state, it naturally falls short of its object. A state of transition is an unpleasant state, whether it affects individuals or nations, and India is in the very throes of it. Nothing will shorten its period, nothing will smooth down its difficulties, but a spirit of moderation and fair play on the part of her rulers, and a just appreciation of their motives and position on the part of her people. A time will come when all this will come to pass, but it behoves alike the governors and the governed to expedite its advent, and when it does come "the British Crown will rest on the sympathy and goodwill of the governed."

CARR STEPHEN.

THE MAHRATTA PLOUGH.

In omni quidem parte culturæ, sed in hac quidem, *i.e.*, arandi disciplina, maxime valeat oraculum illud : "Quid quaque regio patiatur."

C. PLINII, "Nat. Hist." xviii. 18.

My defence of the Mahratta plough is written in reply to the sweeping attack on the vernacular implements and operations of Indian agriculture, made in a paper* read on the 16th of July last, before the East India Association by the Pandit Srilal, a distinguished student of the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, and late Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Bijnaur, the northernmost District of the Rohilkand Division of the North-West Provinces. As it would not be possible within the space at my disposal to attempt a general rejoinder to the accomplished Pandit, I restrict myself, for the present, to the vindication of the indigenous plough, in regard to its perfect adaptation to the surrounding conditions of the land, and life, and labour ; and in so doing I confine myself to that part of India known to me familiarly, in the strict etymological sense of the word, from my birth, and dear to me as my native country,† the "great" basaltic "kingdom" of Maha-rashtra.

* This paper, entitled "Agricultural Improvement in India," has, since it was read, been published in No. 5 of vol. xx. of the *Journal of the East India Association*.

† The name of my birth-place, Belgaum, is Canarese, its correct form being Vennu-grama ["Bamboo Town"], and it was included within the limits of the ancient Karnataka, or "Canara [literally "Black Soil"] Country." The Mahratta language is, however, spoken right up to Belgaum ; and the Ghat-prabha river, rising by numerous affluents in the Syhadri mountains ["Western Ghauts"] between the Hanuman and Ram *ghats* or "passes," and flowing past Belgaum and Gokak, westward to the Kistna, now bounds the extremest southern marches of "the Mahratta Country ;" and, up to its junction with the Kistna, divides between the basaltic formation of Maha-rashtra, and the granitic plateau of Karnataka.

The Mahratta Country.

Hindu geographers divide the Dakhan, or India south of Hindustan—the alluvial plains of the Indus and Ganges—into six principal provinces, viz., Guja-rashtra, north-west of the Narbada; Gondwana [the Central Provinces], south-east of the Narbada; Andra or Telingana [the Nizam's Dominions, *et cetera*], south of Gondwana, to the Coromandel Coast; Dravida [Travancore, *et cetera*], in the south of the peninsula; Karnataka [Mysore, *et cetera*], on the Malabar Coast, north of Dravida; and Maharashtra, extending from the Ghat-prabha river, which separates it from Karnataka, nearly five hundred miles north to the Satpura mountains, between the Tapti and Narbada rivers, and from the Malabar Coast, three hundred to four hundred miles eastward to the borders of Telingana and Gondwana; the western frontier of the latter province being defined by the Wardha river, a northern affluent of the Godavari.

These are the extreme ethnographical frontiers of the Mahratta Country, but its political limits have been enlarged by conquest even beyond them, past the Wardha river, and the old Bhonsla city of Nagpur, up to the Wain-ganga, the eastward affluent of the Godavari, and across the Narbada, where Mahratta dynasties have permanently established themselves at Baroda [Gaekwar] in Guzarat, and at Indor [Holkar], and Gwalior [Sindhia] in Central India. These subject Mahratta States are, however, excluded from the present survey; as are also the Khandesh District [Baglana], or basin of the Tapti, between the Satpura mountains and the Chandor hills, and the whole of the Nasik District, and all the six northern sub-divisions of the Ahmadnagar District, which form with the Nasik District, between the Chandor and the Ahmadnagar hills, the fluvial area, wherein are gathered, by its head stream and western affluents, the waters discharged by the main stream of the pastoral Godavari, through Telingana into the Bay of Bengal. The latter tracts are termed, indiscriminately, by

the Mahrattas themselves, Vindhya, that is, belonging to the Vindhya ["the Hunters'"] mountains, and are still in large proportion peopled by the Bhils * ["Bowmen"], and other aboriginal tribes, who, from the remotest prehistoric times have had their home in Gondwana, to which Khandesh truly appertains, rather than to Maharashtra.

The boundaries of the true Mahratta Country, therefore, are: on the West, the Arabian Sea from Goa to Bombay, about 250 miles; on the North, the Kalyan river from Bombay to the Syhadri mountains, at the Malsij *ghat* ["pass"], about seventy miles as the crow flies, and from thence along the Ahmadnagar hills, so far as they extend due east, one hundred miles more; on the East, the south-eastern prolongation of the Ahmadnagar hills to beyond the sacred Mahratta city of Tuljapur, and the fortress of Nuldrug, both in the Nizam's Dominions, 120 miles in all; and on the South, an irregular line from Nuldrug to Goa,—a distance, as the crow flies, of about two hundred miles,—crossing the Bhima, the great contributory to the Kistna from the northern Mahratta Country [the Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, and Sholapur districts], about sixty miles south-east from Pandharpur, the holiest of Mahratta towns, and the main stream of the Kistna itself, thirty miles south from the splendid ruins of the mediæval Mahomedan city of Bijapur, and just east of the influence of the Ghat-prabha, the south-most contributory to the Kistna from "the Southern Mahratta Country" [the Kolhapur State, and Bijapur and Belgaum Districts].

Within the area thus circumscribed, the most characteristic Mahratta territory is, according to Grant-Duff, the region of upland dales, about fifty miles in breadth, and two

* The Mahrattas are mixed, but true Aryas, and represent the south-west extension, *en masse*, of the Aryan race in India. The Bhils are unmixed aborigines, or Vindhyan Dravidas, and are represented south of Khandesh by the Varalis [north of Bombay], Kathodis [north of Puna], Ramusis [north of Kolhapur], and other semi-savage tribes of "the Western Ghats," who form the autochthonous substratum of the lower castes of the Mahratta nation.

hundred in length, extending across all the eastward spurs of the Syhadri mountains ["Western Ghauts"] from Junnar on the Bhima, southward through Poona, the capital of the old Mahratta Peshwas,* on the Muta Mula, an affluent of the Bhima, and Satara, on the head stream of the Kistna, to Erur-Manjira, lower down the same river, a little east of Kolhapur. These mountain valleys, locally termed *mavalis*; and the wide straths of the Bhima, and its affluents the Sina and the Nira, the two former rivers flowing side by side, between the Ahmadnagar and the Poona hills, and the latter between the Poona and the Satara, or Mahadeo hills; and the open vale of the Kistna, where it winds southward from Satara, and away east from Kolhapur, into Telingana; together with the precipitous, low lying, narrow maritime belt of the Konkans, to the west of the Syhadri mountains; all this well wooded, well watered and fertile, and inaccessible and strongly defensible country, is "the heart of heart" of the mighty basaltic table-land of Maharashtra; to which the hearts of all its true sons, the hardy, brave, shrewd, hospitable, and intensely devout *mavalis*, the Scotch of India, are drawn, as with a fourfold cord, by its romantic and sublime picturesqueness, its bounteous fertility, and the profoundly emotional associations of the religious poetry of Tukaram [*circa* 1609 to 1649], and the heroic history of Sivaji [1627 to 1680]: Tukaram, who passionately extols the glory of Vithoba or Vriththal, the popular incarnation of [Krishna]-Vishnu, and of Pand-

* The Pesh-wa [literally "Fore-man"], was the Prime Minister of the Mahratta kings; and the office, becoming hereditary in the family of Balaji Rao, they gradually usurped the supreme authority, reigning in great power between A.D. 1718 and 1818; leaving to the royal family of Sivaji only the petty principalities of Satara and Kolhapur. The word *pesh* in their title is Persian, and occurs also in Peshawar, "the Frontier station," in Peshin, "the Front-land," i.e., "Sun-rise," or "Morning-land" [Anatolia], as seen from Persia; and in such words as *pesh-kash*, "what is fore-drawn," i.e., "first-fruits," "taxes;" *pesh-qi*, "money advanced;" *pesh-kabz*, "fore-grip," a dagger, the blade of which curves forwardly from the handle; *pesh-ani*, "the fore-head;" *pesh-ab*, "fore-water," i.e., οἶρον, *et cetera*.

harpur, the seat of Vithoba's noblest shrine, and of the Bhima, the perennially flowing, broad-meadowed river of Pandharpur; and Sivaji, the typical and greatest leader of the Mahratta race, at once their Wallace and Bruce and Douglas, to whom they owe the imperishable and inspiring memories of an independent national life centred for 168 years [1650 to 1818] at Poona; a city which, on account of its commanding strategic position, still maintains its pre-eminence as the military capital of the Dakhan. It is the Kabul of Southern India; and as, according to the Eastern proverb, "The Master of Kabul, is the Master of Hindustan," so a ruler strongly seated in Poona, holds the entire Dakhan in his power.

I retain from childhood a lively recollection of the scenery and people of the whole of Maharashtra, between Belgaum and Indor, and Surat and Asirgar; while with the Mahratta Country, as known to me in later years, and comprised within the administrative Districts of Poona, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Satara, Kolhapur [native State], Bijapur, and Belgaum, and, in the Southern Konkan, of Goa [Portuguese possession], Sawantwarí [native State], Ratnagiri, and Kolaba, and, in the Northern Konkan, of Thana, I am more intimately acquainted than with any part of the United Kingdom, unless excepting the basaltic plains of the Forth and Clyde.

The Syhadris are the crest of the great wave of trap which covers the whole of the western Dakhan from Belgaum to Indor, and from the Central Provinces to the Konkans, over which it hangs like a citadel of the Titans; attaining in the flat-topped mountain mass of Maha-bal-eshwar, "the Great-strength-of God," its greatest height, nearly 5,000 feet above the sea.

This aerial ramp lies almost at right angles to the direction of the South-West Monsoon, which beating on it through incalculable ages, has worn its sky line, where the trap rock is of harder basalt, into prolonged chains of bluff, flat-topped, terraced headlands; and, where of softer

amygdaloid, into an occasional jagged peak ; and at a lower height has moulded it, by the same process of secular denudation, into the confused maze of lateral spurs, between which the rain water of the Monsoon runs off in the head springs of the Kistna toward the east, and on the west in the numerous little rivers that plough their rapid way to the Arabian Sea through the Konkans. The black soil of the plains of the Dakhan has been chiefly formed from the Monsoon waste of the Syhadris ; and this soil, so well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, extends beyond the trappean tract of Western India, far into the south and east of peninsular India, where it gives its name both to Karnataka and the Kanaras.

These mountains fall toward the west very abruptly, in terraced slopes, of alternate horizontal belts of ever-green woods and black bands of basalt, and bare precipices, often of 2,000 feet deep, and rugged, irregular spurs, reaching the sea in twenty, or in some places forty, miles, and cutting up the Konkans into a succession of transverse ravines and gorges of incredible difficulty, and deep steaming valleys, covered with thick forests, chiefly of bamboo and teak. On the flat top of an isolated hill of one of these spurs, stretched out between the Bor *ghat* and Bombay, Lord Elphinstone founded the sanatorium of Matha-ran ["the Top of the wild"]. Rising abruptly, from almost the level of the sea, to a height of 2,500 feet, and standing like an advanced tower in front of the Syhadris, it commands the most striking panoramic view of them, from the stupendous scarp of Harichandragar [Malsej *ghat*] rising to an altitude of 4,000 feet in the north, to the pinnacled precipice, called by the natives, Nag-phani, "the Cobras Hood," and by Europeans, "the Duke's Nose," which on the east marks the position of the Bor *ghat*, down to the levelled loom line of the mighty bluff of Mahabaleshwar in the extreme south. Matharan being also constantly cooled by the sea-breeze, and screened from the land-wind, its vegetation is greener, nobler, and more

varied and luxuriant, than that of even the much loftier platforms of the mountains by which it is dominated on the East.

Matharan, and the twin flat-topped Prabal hill, and the remarkable, curiously serrated, saddle-back ridge of Bawa Malang, and the Panala hill, surmounted by the lofty basaltic column which gives it the name of Funnel Hill among Europeans, are the most conspicuous masses, crests, and peaks of the semicircular spur forming the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Malsej, Tal, and Bor *ghats*, of the beautiful Ulhas or Kalyan river, the principal river of the Northern Konkan; a corresponding semicircular spur is the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Bor and Sava *ghats*, of the Amba or Nagotna river, the most sylvan river of the Southern Konkan; and these two curved spurs, converging, from the north and south respectively, toward the west, before sinking out of sight, form the bright little archipelago of basalt islets, which, joined together by the clay desposits of the Kalyan and Nagotna rivers, and the little Panvel and Patala-Ganga ["Infernal"—literally, "Patent," *i.e.*, "Wide-mouthed"—"Ganges"] rivers, and by the shells and sand thrown up by the waves of the South-West Monsoon, constitute the compound island lying like a natural breakwater in front of the four creeks, and the common estuary, of the Kalyan, Panvel, Patala-ganga and Nagotna rivers; and thus forming the magnificent harbour that has given its Portuguese name, and the commercial and naval control of the Indian Ocean, to the palatial city of Bombay; * which rises from its bright green Esplanade, flush with the level blue of the Arabian Sea, like the apparition of another Venice, suffused with the rich golden light of the eternal sunshine of the East.

Beautiful indeed for situation is Bombay! as well as

* The ultimate source of the name of Bombay is the temple of the tutelary island goddess Momba-Devi, "Our Lady of Bombay," an auspicious local form of the "Great Goddess" Devi, the consort of Siva.

for providential opportunity the joy and praise of all those whose business is in the salt deep. Among the palm groves, tufting the five basaltic monticules and mounds of the surrounding suburbs, sparkle the white walls of the houses of its opulent and luxurious merchant princes: this rare aggregation of natural and artificial features presenting a scene at once splendid, comfortable, and, in its encompassing alpine panorama, wonderful; and absolutely enchanting, when the blaze of day has set, and the silver moon hangs above all in the spacious silence of the clear midnight sky.

There has always existed along the Ulhas, so far as it is navigable to sea-going craft, a great emporium of oriental commerce, which, as this river became from age to age more and more silted up, gradually gravitated lower and lower down its course, from Kalyan, the Kalliana of the Greeks, in Buddhistic and later Brahmanical antiquity, to Thana, *i.e.*, Sthan, "the Settlement," in mediæval or Mahomedan times, and to the port of Bombay, its southern debouchure, in the modern English period.

Bhiwindi, the Binda of Ptolemy, five miles from the right bank of the Ulhas, opposite Kalyan, is thought to be an older Aryan mart than even the latter town; and was probably a primitive Vindhyan station; while the period of Portuguese supremacy in Western India is represented by Bassein, *i.e.*, Vassai, "the Settlement," at the extremity of the northern outlet of the Ulhas, which with its southern debouchure [and the sea], delimits a portion of true mainland, the so-called "Island of Salsette," famous for its Buddhistic caves, dated between B.C. 100 and A.D. 50 at Kanheri. Chembur, two or three miles to the east of Mahim Causeway joining Bombay to Salsette, and corresponding with the Portuguese town of Bandra west of Mahim, has been thought to be the Symulla of Ptolemy; but the latter is rather to be identified with Chaul, at the mouth of the Kandalika river in the Southern Konkan. Yet the white variety of the *pangri* [*Erythrina indica*] found by the ruined

Hindu temple at this place,* and, in all the world, found only there, is to my mind a distinct relic of the ancient Buddhists, who as their grove at Lanavla, beyond the Bor ghat shows, were enthusiastic arboriculturists. About ten miles north of Bassein is the common creek of the Tansa river, flowing from the Tul ghat, and the sacred Vaitarna or Agashi river, the Goaris of Ptolemy, flowing from the Tul ghat, and the other ghats more to the north, which lead off through their eastward gradients the sources of the Godavari. About fifteen miles east from Bassein is the shallow and rapidly disappearing backwater connecting the Ulhas or Kalyan river with the Vaitarna, and with them forming the spurious "Island of Sopara" or "Island of Agashi;" where yet stands the town of Sopara, the capital of the Konkans from B.C. 1500 to A.D. 1310. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata, under the name Shurparaka, and also in the Mahawanso of Ceylon, and is now justly held to be the Ophir of the Bible, spelt Sophir by Josephus; which form of the word still denotes India among the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia. Without doubt it is the Supara of the Greeks, placed by Ptolemy between Nasaripa [Nosari], in the Baroda [Gækwar] State and Symulla [Chaul] in the Southern Konkan. The well-known tope † here was recently shown by Messrs. Mulock and Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, to be a Buddhist relic mound, dating not later than A.D. 100, and one of the most interesting as yet excavated in India. The saintly associations of this tumulus probably account for the traditional sanctity of the "Island of Sopara" or "Agashi," not less than the origin

* The discoverer of this tree was Mr. Bhasker, the *Karbhari* of the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, where I was careful to propagate innumerable cuttings from it, and to widely distribute them, even so far as Egypt.

† This Anglo-Indian word has a double derivation, viz., from the Sanskrit *stupa*, "a tumulus," as here; and the Canarese *topu*, "a clump of trees," as here also; the tope at Sopara having been so called by both Europeans and natives, from the vegetation on it, chiefly *karanda* bushes [Carissa Carandas], long before it was recognized, and first, by Mr. Mulock as a Buddhist mound.

of the Vaitarna in the same sacred summits of the Syhadris as the deified "cattle-bearing" Godavari.

The Aryas must have been early attracted from Gujarat into the picturesque and gloriously umbrageous coast land of the Konkans, and it was by moving up their rivers, and scaling their innumerable *ghats*, excavated by the descending rivers, that they finally reached and civilized Maharashtra, rather than through the forbidding Vindhyan regions of Gondwana and Baglana. The Buddhistic remains at Kanheri and Sopara, and the imposing later Brahmanical sculptures on the little island of Elephanta, in Bombay Harbour, prove, by the great wealth lavished upon them, that all through antiquity, down to the rise of the Mahomedan power in Anterior Asia, the creeks and estuaries of the Konkans were everywhere the busy scenes of the immemorial trade carried on between the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Eastern Coast of Africa, and Western India. We witness it actually pictured for us on the contemporary wall paintings of the Buddhistic caves at Ajanta [B.C. 250—A.D. 250] at the extremity of the northern bifurcation, within the frontiers of the Nizam's Dominions, of the Chandor spur of the Syhadris. The inland routes of this commerce passed from Kalyan over the Bor *ghat* into the valley of the Kistna; and from Sopara over the Tul *ghat*, into the upper valley of the Godavari, and on to Plutana [Paithan] on the lower Godavari, and Tagara* [Daulatabad, the Hindu Deogiri], about fifty miles north of Plutana; where, on the southern bifurcation of the Chandor hills, the sumptuous Buddhistic *viharas*,† and later Brahmanical pagodas‡ at Ellura, like

* Tagara has also been identified with Deogiri, at the mouth of the Deogiri river, in the Ratnagiri District of the Southern Konkan, and the natural seaport of the Kolhapur State; while Mr. T. F. Fleet, of the Bombay Civil Service, identifies Tagara with the town Kolhapur itself, one of his arguments being that the *tagara* [*Tabernaemontana coronaria*] grows freely in its neighbourhood. There is a town called Tegur, a few miles N.E. of Dharwar.

† *Vihara* is a Sanskrit word meaning a Buddhist convent, and is traced in the name of the Province of Behar, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; of a village on the Island of Salsette, near the great reservoir of

the marvellous mural paintings at Ajanta, fifty miles north-east of Ellura, testify to the affluent resources of the ancient, pre-Mahomedan trade of Maharashtra at its eastern *termini*, as graphically as do Kanheri and Elephanta at its western starting-places in the Konkans. From Nasica [Nasik] a branch from this easterly trunk road turned more to the north, and crossing, in succession, the Chandor hills near Chandor, the Tapti river, the Sautpura mountains through the Sindhiva *ghat*, the Narbada river, and the Vin-dhya mountains over the Jam *ghat*, at last reached Ozene [Ujjain] and Sagida [Saketa] in Malva. These ancient routes are to be traced not only where they begin and end, but throughout their course, by the remains of Buddhistic and later Brahminical architecture, as at Karli in the Bor *ghat*, where there is the largest and best preserved rock-cut *chaitya*, or Buddhist memorial hall [church], hitherto discovered in India; and at Bhaja and Bedsa, south of Karli; at Junnar, north of Poona, and Nasik, north of Junnar, and at Kolvi and Dumnar, near Ujjain. And the great Buddhist topes at Bhilsa [Sanchi] and Bharhut, 125 and 325 miles respectively, east of Ujjain, are also indications of the far extended prosperity of the ancient trade of Maharashtra, rather than of the separate commercial system of the alluvial valley of the Ganges, cut off as the latter is from the lofty plains of the Godavari and the Kistna by the defiles of the Jumna, which from opposite Delhi to opposite Allahabad and Benares, form the northern escarpment of the triangular trappean and granitic table-land of peninsular India. The beds of the Son and Narbada,

the Bombay Waterworks; and, according to Colonel Yule [*Hobson-Jobson*], of the city of Bokhara in Central Asia.

‡ The Anglo-Indian word “pagoda,” has also, like “tope,” a double derivation, viz., from the Sanskrit *dhatu-garbha* “relic receptacle” [literally “tooth-womb”], though the Cingalese *dagaba*; and from the Portuguese *pagao*, “a pagan.” In India, however, the word “pagoda” is always applied to the idol-temples of the Hindus, and the word “tope” to the relic-mounds of the Buddhists. The “pagodas” of China and Burmah are Buddhist temples built [nominally] in seven stories.

forming a continuous waterway, sloping in opposite directions, from Patna on the Ganges, to Broach at the mouth of the Narbada, seem to open out a thousand miles of direct inland communication, through the very heart of Gondwana, between Northern and Southern India ; but so inaccessible are the Amarkantak highlands, in which these rivers, and the Mahanadi, the river of Orissa, have their common source, and so precipitous is the channel of the Narbada, and so intricate that of the Son, before it reaches the plain of the Ganges, that these rivers, so far from serving to overcome, rather aggravate the obstructions placed by the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains, to free intercourse between Hindustan and the Dakhan. The strange admixture of religious ideas and practices current among the Mahrattas is only to be satisfactorily explained by the enlarged commercial intercourse with Anterior Asia and Egypt, and the West, enjoyed by Western India, all through the great Buddhistic millennium, from B.C. 500 to A.D. 500. That commerce made Buddhism in the East, as, through Buddhism, it made Christianity in the West ; while in Maharashtra, to the deeply-rooted and strongly infectious animism of the Vindhyan aborigines, and the Vedic polytheism of Aryan settlers, it added the elements of Chaldæan sabaism, Egyptian asceticism, Roman stoicism, and some of the distinctive principles of that general humanitarianism of the period which at last found its highest expression in Christianity. Even Bible names are to be found deified among the Mahrattas, who near Pandharpur worship an image called Bawa-Adam, and in the Berars another known as Jabral-Abral [the angel Gabriel]. I am satisfied that the glory of the legendary Hindu rajah Vikramaditya [of Ujjain] of this period, is in part the reflected glory of Augustus Cæsar ; and that "the Nine Gems" of Vikramadityas Court are none other than Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and rest of the Augustan poets. It was, in all probability, in the course of this secular trade between the east and west, and long before it became so

intimate as it did between the dates of Alexander the Great and Justinian I., that the characteristic Mahratta drill ploughs, the *moghar* and *pabhar* were introduced into Western India direct from Chaldæa.

Jinjira, at the mouth of the romantic Rajpuri creek, below Chaul, in the Southern Konkan, is supposed to be the Sigerus of the Greeks and Romans, and Mhasla, at the head of the creek, the Musopalle of Ptolemy. Below Jinjira are Bankot, at the mouth of the Savitri river, flowing from Mahabaleshwar; Dabhol, at the mouth of the Vashishti, both places of some trade in the Mahomedan or mediæval period; Ratnagiri, at the mouth of the Bhatya; Deogiri or Devgad, absurdly identified by some with the ancient Tagara; Malvan, at the mouth of the Kalavali, where the trappean formation is last seen in the Konkan; and Vengurla, where the gneissic series of Southern India first makes itself prominent on the Malabar Coast. None of these exiguous ports ever accommodated anything more than a precarious local trade, and being thus inaccessible to the international trade of antiquity, the narrow alpine stip of the Konkans between Chaul and Goa was never fully brought under its denationalizing influences, and remained all through the thousand years of the predominance of Buddhism in Hindustan, and the Dakhan so far south as the left bank of the lower Kistna, a safe refuge of the families of the conservative Aryan priesthood now known as the Konkanast Brahmans. The Brahmans of the Ganges valley affect to despise them, and in their disdainful and spiteful ignorance apply literally to them the traditional cognomen they bear of *Chit-pavan*, i.e., "a corpse saved from the funeral pyre," a figurative epithet, which probably condenses in a word the long history of their almost miraculous survival from the fire of Buddhistic persecution. But whatever may be the interpretation of the local legend of their origin, they are a well-grown, handsome race of men, with fair complexions, light grey eyes, and strikingly intellectual faces, and ob-

vously of far purer Aryan blood than any other Hindu people east of the Gandak and Son, or south of the Kistna : and above all else, they present, in their manly and joyous national temperament, a complete moral antithesis to the witty and plaintive Bengali Babus, a radically Turanian people. Such being their inherent aristocratic characteristics, it is not surprising that, on the collapse of Buddhism, and during the decline of the Mahomedan power in India, emerging from their obscure retreat in the Southern Kenkan, they gradually, as of natural right, gathered into their masterful hands the whole administrative, political, and social, control of the nascent Mahratta nationality, and, from the Peshwar downwards, became the first and foremost personages throughout the Dakhan. Their mental superiority is shown by the manner in which their historic family names crowd the honours-lists of the Bombay University.

The *Chit-pavan* women are of the most refined type of feminine loveliness ; and in the sweetness, grace, and dignity of their high-bred beauty, at once modern in its exquisite delicacy and antique in its fearless freedom, they might well be taken for the Greek originals of the Tanagra "figurines," awaked to a later life among the tropical gardens and orchards and cocoanut groves of the Southern Konkan. One never wearies of watching them, as seen in the dewy morning in their gardens, perambulating, in archaic worship, the altar of Holy Basil [*tulsi*, *Ocymum sanctum*] placed before every Hindu house ; or of an afternoon as they pass, in fetching water, to and from the near riverside, or the lotus-laden tank of the village temple, all in flowing robes of cotton, of unbleached white, or dyed a single colour, pink, scarlet, black, green, or primrose yellow, presenting as they move along the red laterile roads in the deepening shadows of the trees, and illumined across the blue sea by the sidelong rays of the declining sun, the richest chromatic effects, with all the bright glamour of a glowing Turner or a Claude. And the outward and visible

charms of these fair *Chit-pavnis* do but faithfully mirror the innate virtues of their pure and gentle natures; for they are perfect daughters, wives, and mothers, after the severely disciplined, self-sacrificing, Hindu ideal, the ideal also of Solomon, Sophocles, and St. Paul, remaining modestly at home, as the proper sphere of their duties, unknown beyond their families, and seeking in the happiness of their children their greatest pleasure, and in the reverence of their husbands the amaranthine * crown [*τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον*"] of a woman's truest glory.

The ascent from the Konkans to the summits of the Syhadris or *Konkan-ghat-matha* † ("Konkan-pass-top") is very rapid. The old military road up the Bor *ghat* rises six hundred feet in a mile; and the Tul *ghat* is just as steep. In order, therefore, to carry the railway from Bombay to Nagpur and Benares, and to Madras, over the Tul *ghat* and the Bor *ghat* respectively, the engineers had to take advantage, at the farthest possible distance from these passes, of the shoulders projecting from the main axis of the Syhadris towards the Island of Bombay. By this means, on the Tul *ghat* incline, half the ascent is almost unconsciously overcome, and the final lift on to the plateau of the Dakhan is made with comparative ease. The Bor *ghat* railway incline is almost fifteen miles in length, and its average gradient is one foot in forty-eight, the work consisting of a series of Cyclopean cuttings, tunnels, embankments, and viaducts carried through and over some of the finest scenery in the world. Thus, starting at a wide distance from the military road, the railway line runs straight up until it joins the former at the old Toll House, on the west side of the gorge, surmounted on its opposite or east side by the perpendicular precipice

* All down the delectable Malabar Coast the women wear the flowers of the Globe Amaranth (*Gomphrena globosa*), cultivated in every garden, in their hair. Compare 1 Peter v. 4; and 1 Cor. ix. 25.

† Often spoken of simply as *Bala-ghat* "[the country] Above-the-passes." *Desh*, literally "country," is the general plain beyond the *navals*.

of "the Duke's Nose," 2,580 feet high; and from this point, where a Reversing Station stands, 1,548 feet above the sea, it doubles back, with the military road, to the village of Khandala, 1,786 feet above the sea, and runs past the ancient Buddhistic grove at Lanavla, 2,030 feet above the sea, and thence, down gradually descending gradients, on to Poona and Sholapur, and to Bellary and Madras.

The slope of the trappean formation of Maharashtra is very gradual from the Syhadris towards the Coromandel Coast, and these mountains, therefore, present on their eastern side very long spurs, sinking slowly into the general level of the Dakhan; but in starting from the same culminating headlands of the central range, the eastward spurs, so far symmetrically, correspond with those on the west. Thus, about sixty miles south from the Chandor or Ajanta and Ellura hills, the Ahmadnagar hills start from the hill of Harichandragar, rising 3,894 feet above the sea, and having a fort on its summit, with walls eighteen miles in circumference. Thence they run in a ridge on to Brahmanvara, where they are 2,866 feet in height, and then expand into a terraced tableland, twenty-four miles long, twenty broad, and from 2,474 to 2,133 feet high, at Ahmadnagar, from which point they are continued southward, until they disappear in the neighbourhood of Sholapur and Nuldrug. A short secondary spur, jutting out from them close to their connection with Harichandragar, ends, west of Junnar, in the rugged rock of Shivnir, rising 1,000 feet above the surrounding plain; and the fort at its top was the birthplace of Sivaji. The famous temple of Bhimashankar, on the crest of the Syhadris, 3,000 feet above the sea, midway between Harichandragar and Khandala, marks the sacred source of the Bhima, which, with its northern affluents, drains all the rich, fertile dale between the Chandor and the Poona hills.

The latter originate in the territory [*jaghir*] of the

Pant Sacheo of Bor, in a maze of spurs, which in the course of ten or twelve miles merge in the spur that stretches south of Poona, separating the strath of the northern affluents of the Bhima from the dale of the Nira, the main affluent of the Bhima from the south. Close to the Syhadris stands out boldly, to the height of 4,605 feet, the hill fort of Torna [cf. *tortus*, and *torque*, torch, *torturé*, 'tart, *et cetera*], so called from the contorted, or twisted pinnacle of basalt, which marks its position from afar. It was here that Sivaji hoarded the booty gathered in his earliest forages. Immediately south of it is the hill, 3,392 feet high, which Sivaji, on finding Torna insufficiently secure against a surprise, fortified, and named Raj-gar, "The Citadel of the Kingdom." About twelve miles west of Torna and Raj-gar is the hill fort originally called Kondhana, but re-named by Sivaji after he had captured it, Sinh-gar, "The Lion's Den." Rising from 4,162 to 4,322 feet above the sea, and 2,300 feet above the plains below, it commands toward the north the whole vale of the Muta Mula, from the rich ever-green forests [chiefly of *Memecylon edule*, and *Carissa Carandas*] about Khandala, to the open arable country through which, on the extreme east, the Muta Mula reaches the Bhima. In the middle ground, under the dominating hill temple of the "Great Goddess" Devi, in her name of Parvati, "The Mountaineer," the red-tiled roofs and painted walls of Poona stretch hither and thither through the deep verdure, and towering foliage of the *agar* [cf. *ager*], or broad tract of enclosed orchards and gardens, and clumps, and avenues of richly grown forest trees [*nimb* *Azadirachta indica*, *pipal*, *Ficus religiosa*, and *bur*, *Ficus indica*], in which the fairest city of the Dakhan, the Damascus of India, lies embosomed. From the south Sinhgar looks down upon the narrow, lovely valley of the Nira; but it is best seen from Sivaji's proud hill fort of Purandhar, seven miles south-east of Sinhgar, standing 4,472 feet above the sea, and 2,566 feet above the plains of Poona, with the sparkling Nira flowing past its base, almost due south-east-

ward, for seventy miles, to the Bhima. On the right bank of the sunny Nira stands the sacred town of Jejuri, famous for its majestically-situated fane of Kandoba or Khanderao, a national incarnation of Siva, in the figure of an armed horseman, and next to Vithoba or Viththal, the most popular object of worship throughout Maharashtra. Attached to his temple is a large establishment of dancing girls [*deva-dasi*, *ιερόδουλαι ἐταῖραι*]. Not far from the temple, and close to Nira bridge, is the village of Valhe, the reputed birthplace of Valmiki, the legendary author of the divine *Ramayana*. In this valley also is Hol the native village of the first Holkar. About eleven miles below the confluence of the Nira with the Bhima is the handsome city of Pundharpar, which is esteemed so holy, owing to the presence of the great temple of Vithoba, the national incarnation [Krishna]-Vishnu, that the rich land immediately round it is restricted to the cultivation of the sacred *tulsi* plant [*Ocimum sanctum*]. It was the custom of all the principal members of the Mahratta Confederacy, the Peshwar, Sindhia, and Holkar, to keep up a house in this town; and here it was that the Gaekwar's ambassador, Gangadhar Shartri, was foully murdered in 1815, at the instigation of the degraded Baji Rao Peshwar, by the hired assassins of Trimbakji. About sixty miles due east from the junction of the Nira with the Bhima, is the third sacred city of the Mahrattas proper, Tuljapur, an open town in the Nizam's Dominions, containing numerous temples dedicated to Bhairava, a lower national incarnation of Siva than Khanderao or Kandoba. To the south and west of Purandhar the horizon is closed in by the mountain masses of the Mahadeo or Satara hills, and the Syhadris, and beyond and above the latter, forty-four miles due west of Purandhar, rises out of the Konkan, 2,851 feet above the sea, the hill fort formerly called Rai-ri, in Sanskrit Ray-giri, "the Royal Hill," but named Ray-gar, "the Royal Fort," by Sivaji. It is the strongest of his forts, "the Gibraltar of the East," where Sivaji held his coronation, in 1674, and died in 1680. The scandent *Bougainvillea*

spectabilis irradiates with the exotic splendour of its loose waving trusses of magenta-coloured bloom the stately marble cenotaph of Akbar at Sikandra near Agra, a befitting emblem of the magnificence of the alien rule of the Mo(n)gols in India. As aptly, and yet more remarkably, because quite fortuitously, the grave of Sivaji, on the top of Ray-gar, is now to be traced only by the patch of one of the commonest wild flowers of Maharashtra growing over it, the *Commelina communis*, the exquisite bright blue petals of which reflect back year after year the azure of the skies above, as if in sign of the great national leader's eternal peace with heaven.

Another notable grave on these mountain tops is that of the botanist, John Graham, who died in 1839 at Khandala, and was buried there behind the Travellers' Bungalow, at the extremity of the grassy platform, thickly studded with pretty white-flowered terrestrial orchid, *Habenaria platifolia*, overlooking the Khandala ravine ; the spot being indicated by a short obelisk. South-west of the village of Khandala, beyond the barracks, in the old military cemetery on the slope of "Carnac Point," close under "the Duke's Nose, there stood thirty-three years ago, out of a thick sward of the blue and white magpie flowered *Exacum bicolor*, a headstone labelled simply "Poor Nellie," marking the grave of some English soldier's young wife, and hallowing all the hills around by the associations of its tender and heroic pathos.*

The Satara hills project one hundred miles eastward from Mahabalshwar, and from this main spur send off three subsidiary spurs, each about fifty miles long, toward the south-east ; the first, running at a distance of from five to ten miles from the Syhadris, separating the long, narrow dale of the Koyna, the west-most affluent of the Kistna, from the broad vale of the head stream of the Kistna, and of the Yerla, the largest of the direct eastern feeders of the

* I deeply regret that on inquiring after it, on reading the announcement of the publication, by the author of "My Trivial Life," of the novel entitled "Poor Nellie," I found that this touching tombstone has now disappeared.

Kistna, within the Satara district ; the second separating this vale from the valley of the Man or Man-ganga, a tributary of the Bhima ; and the third separating the Man valley from the wide strath of the Bhima, which river receives the Man about fifty miles below the influence of the Nira, and after receiving the Sina from the east, about twenty-five miles south of the influence of the Man, itself becomes confluent, one hundred miles farther south, with the main, eastward-flowing stream of the Kistna.

The head stream of the Kistna, and the Koyna, and the Yenna, a small tributary of the Kistna, all have their head springs in Mahabaleshwar, as also the westward-flowing streams of the Savitri and Gayatri ; and these six rivers, with the sacred Ganges, which, the Brahmans feign, derives a source, every fifth year, from Mahabaleshwar, are known to the hill-men of the locality as "The Six Sisters."

The Brahmans in charge of the temple of Krishnabai, "the Lady Krishna," at the head of the "Kistna Ravine," show you five rills of water running through five holes in the west wall of the temple, into a small tank, of the highest sanctity, from which their collected waters flow through a carved stone cow into a second tank, of lesser sanctity, and thence tumble down the steep side of the ravine into the Kistna ; and they tell you that these five rills are the five secret fountains of the rivers Kistna, Koyna, Yenna, Gayatri, and Savitri : and as every drop of rain that falls on Mahabaleshwar, and every square foot of its oozy sward, may be said to be the common source of all the rivers flowing from it, the pious fantasy of these Brahmans is not to be lightly gainsaid. But in profane fact even the Kistna itself rises a mile or two to the left of the temple among the runnels, formed by the superfluous drainage from the hill, below Arthur's Seat [Malet Point], the northmost point of Mahabaleshwar, and the water-parting between the Kistna and the Savitri, or river of Bankot. A south-westerly projection from Arthur's Seat, called Elphinstone Point, forms the water-parting between the Savitri and the

Koyna, the latter winding past Lodwick Point, and Bombay Point, and Babbington Point, all on the west side of the Mahabaleshwar plateau, before continuing its south-easterly course inland, toward the Kistna. Babbington Point looks right down the long, green, fairly-like dale of the Koyna, dotted throughout its length, along the course of its perennial river, with groves of tall trees, mango [*Mangifera indica*], jack [*Artocarpus integrifolia*], and *jambul* [*Sizyguim Jambolanum*], and, towards the open plain of the Dakhan, *babul* [*Acacia arabicæ*], indicating the sites of the hamlets and little villages, nestled within them, of the patient and skilful Mahratta cultivators, who have everywhere in these retired valleys carried the tillage of the *mavals* to the highest perfection.

From the temple of "The Lady Krishna," or from Kate's Point, three miles to the right, the valley of the Kistna opens out, past Wai, and Satara, and Kurar, a gradually widening view of the plain of the Dakhan and its far-extended and ampler agriculture. But as both the summits and the escarpments of the hills on either side, as seen end on, present an almost unbroken outline, the prospect lacks variety; and only the vast magnitude of its scale, particularly in the immediate foreground, lends a sublime sternness to its severe monotony. Yet, visited in the still moonlight, and looking from the Krishnabai temple down on the sacred town of Wai, with its clusters of superbly sculptured shrines, and yielding sympathetically to the associations of the locality, the scene is one that makes an indelible impression on the memory.

From Arthur's Seat north-westward, across the dense forest which shelters the sources of the Kistna, extends the main axis of the Syhadris; their blackened, trackless gorges, and bluffs of stratified basalt, stratum upon stratum, high uplifted to the zenith, and serried peaks, presenting, as thus viewed foreshortened, a boundless prospect of the wildest desolation.

Lodwick Point is a narrow wall of basalt, not more than

from six to twelve feet broad towards its extremity, running out ten thousand feet into the west, and there dropping down suddenly two thousand five hundred feet into the valley of the Koyna below. The drop is so perpendicular that a runaway horse I once saw leap at full gallop from the Point fell dead at its base without striking against any salient ledge or angle in the fall. Projecting out into the sky, almost like a bowsprit from a ship, it commands a lofty perspective of the Konkans, in front of the main axis of the Syhadris; but the predominant feature in the landscape here is the Point itself, rearing its colossal wall, like a horse's neck thrown up enquiringly, above the deep, beautifully-wooded ravines of the Koyna on either side of it.

Bombay Point is so called from its having been there that the plateau of Mahabaleshwar was first reached by the old road from Bombay up the "Rotunda Ghaut." * It is a large space cleared out of a wood of noble evergreen trees, and fenced in, above the Rotunda Pass, by a low parapet, overgrown with *Clematis wightiana* [*murvail*], *Hoya viridifolia* [*hirandori*], the sweet-scented, white-flowered *Jasminum latifolium* [*kusur*], *Embelia Basaal* [*ambut*], and other luxuriant creepers and scandent shrubs. The view from it is the most extensive and varied and the most interesting on the hill; and hence this green, cool, and fragrant spot has become the general resort, of an afternoon, toward sundown, of the English families residing during the "hot season" at Mahabaleshwar. It is evergreen-wooded to its base, in the sweet valley of the Koyna, west of which the rugged, craggy spurs of the Syhadris, stretching across the Konkans, present an infinite diversity of picturesque contours, spur beyond spur, without end, toward the north and south, and only bounded on

* That is, *Rortundi-ghat*, "the Roaring [or Crying] Pass," so called from the difficulty of its ascent.

the west by the glittering horizon of the Arabian Sea. It is said that sometimes a glimpse may be obtained beyond the long sylvan valley of the Nagotna river of Bombay, one hundred miles distant; while southward the coast can be followed down to Ratnagiri. In the middle ground the low saddle-backed ridge dipping down from Elphinstone Point, and forming the western enclosure of the Koyna valley at its head, suddenly ascends, before dipping down again to the Par * *ghat*, into Sivaji's massive flat-topped hill fort of Pratabgar. Only four miles distant, and rising by steep grassy slopes to an altitude of 3,543 feet above the Arabian Sea, distinctly visible on the left, it stands out boldly against the blue sky, directly in front of Bombay Point, and in strong contrast, when, after midday, its whole eastward side is in shade, with the bright, shining heights of the Konkans beyond. As the rays of the afternoon sun begin gradually to strike more and more horizontally through the heated, rarified mists drawn up by it during the forenoon, the natural complexion of this majestic scene undergoes a series of atmospheric transfigurations of indescribable splendour. At first the hills and dales of the Konkans seem to be suddenly transmuted into silver, shining, as with its own light, in dazzling brightness along the ridges of the hills, but with a softer lustre in the dales, where their ethereal illumination is subdued by the lengthening shadows of the sinking sun. In the twinkling of an eye, all is changed to radiant gold, clear as topaz on the hill-tops, with the sea on the left ruled in long levelled lines of chrysolite; and when the day closes upon the eastern hemisphere, the rapidly falling mists pass from a glowing purple to dense indigo, and the cleared sky at last reflects back from the darkened landscape the deep trans-

* That is, "the Village," *par* or *para* being the Mahratti for "village" or "hamlet," but meaning literally "altar;" that is, the altar thrown up about the *pīpal* [*Ficus religiosa*] or *bur*, or "banyan tree" [*F. indica*], round which every village or hamlet in India is built. *Par-ganah*, a revenue circle of many villages, is literally "the collection ["gang," cf. Gana-pati, "Lord of Hosts"] of altars."

parent sapphire colour which is the proper tincture of an Indian night.

Before natural scenery of such spiritual expression and significance men have ever recognized that this outspread green earth, with the revolving circle of the sun and moon and stars above, are but the marvellous contexture of the veil dividing between the world we see and the unseen, inscrutable life beyond. And inhabiting a country at once of great grandeur and loveliness, and of the strongest individuality of natural features and phenomena, the Hindus in general, and particularly the Mahrattas, have marked every hill and dale and river, and almost every "kenspeckle" tree and stone throughout India, by a shrine, altar, towering temple, or lone, uncouth image, in acknowledgment of the felt presidency of the one polyonymous God of universal human worship; who is everywhere identified by some dramatic name, accurately descriptive of the most characteristic local manifestation of His might, majesty, and omnipresence. Barren, scorched plains, and pestilential marsh-lands, and blackened, lightning-riven mountains, are identified with Siva in some one of his higher or lower incarnations; and fertile tracts and pleasurable prospects with Vishnu or Krishna; or with Siva's consort, "the Great Goddess," Devi, in her more auspicious aspects, such as Parvati, "the Mountaineer," Gauri, "the Yellow-Haired," "Uma," "the Wanton," and "Jagan-mata," "the World Mother." Again, the money-making classes have for their tutelary divinities Vishnu, and his consort, the fair Lakshmi, also called Loka-mata, "the World Mother;" while the ruling classes, whose duty it is to be "untender-hearted" [*ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχων*], worship Siva, and his consort Devi as Bhavani [Athene Polias]. The armed horseman, Khanderao, is the historical Mahratta manifestation of the Godhead. The higher class of agriculturists are the devotees of Krishna and his loose lady-loves; while the favourite divinity of the lower class of agriculturists all through Maharashtra, and of

all men in their less serious moods, is the playful monkey-god, Hanuman, *i.e.*, "Long-jaw" or "the Prognathous One."

Thus throughout the length and breadth of the Konkans and the *mavals*, as surveyed from Bombay Point, from every height and depth, there goes up the joyous salutation :

"Thou art, O God, the Life and Light
Of All this wondrous World we see !"

In everything the Mahratta finds God ; the stones discourse of Him, the running brooks are His life-giving word, every tree is a tongue in His praise, and every flower an Alleluia ! This is the simple explanation of the intensity, the downright fanaticism, of the patriotism of the Mahrattas. Maharashtra is not merely their mother country, but it is also their heavenly inheritance ; while the presence of the Mahomedans, as religious persecutors, was regarded, not merely as a foreign intrusion, about which of itself they would have been very indifferent, but as an absolute profanation and sacrilege, to be expiated at any cost.

Of all Europeans the Scotch are probably the most fervent in their patriotism ; but Scotland after all is no more than their native country, at least since the Reformation robbed them of their tutelary saints. It is not their Holy Land, where God has walked with man, which for them, as for all Protestant Christians, is far away in Jewry. To judge therefore of the Mahratta feeling for home and country we have to conceive what perfervid Scotch patriotism would be were Kishon a Scottish brook like Bannockburn ; and evergreen Carmel, and Mount Gilboa, and Tabor and Hermon, spurs of the Cheviots or the Lammermuir Hills ; and the fragrant valley of Sharon, and the plain of Jezreel, "the seed plot of God," tracts in Tweeddale or Clydesdale ; or were Flodden Field also the fateful field of Megiddon, as in sense it was, or,

" — stately Edinborough, throned on crags,"

one with Jerusalem "the Golden." And it is in this conception of the Mahratta character that the foul and treacherous murder of Afzul Khan by Sivaji at Pratabgar, must be estimated. From Bombay Point you can distinctly see the temple of Bhavani in which Sivaji, Siva's son, solemnly dedicated himself to the terrible act, and the gateway in the circumvallation of the frowning fortress through which he walked down to meet the chivalrous, unsuspecting Bijapur general at the fatal trysting-place, up to which he walked, with only a single attendant, from the Koyna valley; and the very spot where he was so vilely assassinated, and where his body lies buried, is conspicuously indicated by an evergreen shrub, standing solitary on the hill side. The deed was damnable; but Sivaji, in all truth and sincerity, deemed it high and worthy, and the last sacrifice of his devout patriotism to the welfare of his sacro-sanct country; and it will be a bad sign for the Mahratta people if they ever come to think less of Sivaji for it. The Bijapur army lay between him and the independence of his country, and the only way in his power for destroying it was by the destruction of its commander, and hardening his heart to the necessity, he enticed his noble victim into an ambush, and in a paroxysm of sacramental ecstasy determinately slew him.

The Kolhapur Hills start from the hill fort of Vishalgar, 3,350 feet high, whence Sivaji made his incredible night raid on Mudhol, on the Ghat-prabha, one hundred and fifty miles distant; and from Vishalgar they extend for about forty-five miles eastward, being crowned near their extremity by the hill fort of Panhala, the last of the seven greater strongholds of Sivaji in the Mahratta country, where a dozen others of less note might be named. These hills are the water-parting between the Varna, forming, from its source up to its confluence with the Kistna at Miraj, the frontier between the District of Satara and the Kolhapur State, and the Panch-ganga or Kolhapur river; and they are the only range of the confused mass of hills covering the Kol-

hapur District which runs out over the plateau of the Dakhan at right angles to the Syhadris. All the shorter spurs to the south of it run at a more or less acute angle toward the north, carrying northward the three terrestrial tributaries of the Panch-ganga,* which joins the Kistna half way between Miraj and Erur-Manjira ; at which latter point the Kistna is joined from the south by the united streams of the Dud-ganga, Ved-ganga, and Heranya-keshi. Beyond Mudhol the Kistna is joined by the Ghat-prabha, flowing almost due west from the Ram *ghat*, almost coincidently with the line of division between the trappean and the granitic Dakhan, and forming the natural boundary between Maharashtra and Karnataka. The highest pleasures afforded by the scenery of the Syhadris are for the botanist, and the flora of these mountains shows in its fullest glory in the Kolhapur region between Vishalgar and the Ram *ghat*, the great pass, just beyond the Kolhapur frontier, between the shores of the Arabian Sea at Vengurla and Goa and the plateau of the Dakhan. I shall never forget my first vision of the Bombax Malabaracum, or "Red Silk Cotton Tree," in the Ram *ghat*. I had left the plain below about 2 a.m., in medical charge of a party of about two hundred and fifty European troops, and after a slow ascent of some hours, suddenly, at a turn of the road, just at sunrise, came out upon a grassy glade, overhanging the profound forest depths below, at the edge of which stood a colossal specimen of this tree quite fifty feet high, the trunk straight as "the mast of some great ammiral," deeply buttressed at its base, and sending out horizontal branches, like the yard-arms of a ship, in whorls of five and seven, gradually tapering to the top, and at this season, the month of March, leafless, but covered in place of green leaves with huge crimson † flowers, each from five to seven inches in diameter, and forming in the mass a vast dome-like, symmetrical head, which, with

* The fifth, constituting it "the Five-Ganges," is the celestial Sarasvati.

† By reflected light deep scarlet ; by transmitted, the radiant red of a ruby.

the beams of the rising sun striking through it, shone in its splendour of celestial, rosy red like a mountain of rubies. I fairly shrieked with delight at the sight of it, and galloped off at once toward it, followed in a rush by the whole column of men, who were mostly recruits, fresh from England like myself, and at last by the young officer in command, who, on taking in the whole situation, which, from where he had stood, in momentary astonishment at so unexpected a breach of discipline, must have been a most picturesque one, with the red coats all swarming over the green grass up to the resplendent tree, and after administering a kindly rebuke to myself, left us to sit on for awhile, worshipping in its ruby-tinted light, before continuing our march to the top of the *ghat*. I could particularize many individual specimens of different gorgeously flowered species of forest trees, such as the golden yellow flowered *Cassia Fistula* [*bava*], the purple flowered *Lagestroemia reginæ* [*taman*], the vermilion and chrome yellow flowered *Butea fundosa* [*pulas*], and the scarlet *Erythrina indica* [*pangri*], which, on account of their stately development, and the striking situations occupied by them at Matharan, Khandala, Mahabaleshwar, and the Ram *ghat*, are each one of them worthy a visit from England. For the present I may do no more than note, as an indirect proof of the great botanical charm of the whole region of the *Konkan-ghat-mahta*, and the *navals*, and of its recognition by the Mahrattas, that the Kolhapur State still bears its ancient name of Karavira [*Sirkar Karvir* in the vernacular], "the Oleander [-land]"; and that the white-flowered, fragrant dog-bane, *Tabernæmentana coronaria*, which with the *Nerium Odorum*, is found throughout the upper valleys of the affluents of the Kistna, probably gave its native name, as suggested by Mr. Fleet, to Tagara, whether we identify that ancient Indian city with Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions, or with the city of Kolhapur, "the Lotus-city" itself.

The central plateau of the Dakhan, or *desh* [*i.e.*, "[plain]-country"], as it is called by the natives [in contradistinction

to the *bala-ghat* or *ghat-matha*] eastward of the *mavals*, from Mohol and Kaladghi on the Kistna, northward past Bijapur, and past Sholapur along the Sena, to Ahmadnagar, and north-westward past Pandharpur and Indapur on the Bhima, and on toward Poona and Junnar, is an open plain, rising and falling in prolonged tame lines, the ground-swell, as it were, of the boundless ocean of trap flowing over it. Solitary *turour* [*Cassia auriculata*] and *babul** [*Acacia arabica*] trees, and rare clumps of date palms, diversify it, and multitudes of mud-walled villages, the positions of which are shown in the landscape by lofty topes, rising amid black ploughed fields, and breadths of corn and pulse and other crops, waving dark green over the wide arable expanse, save where interveined with the vivid verdure of the rice fields following the courses of the river beds. Some of these trap waves are mere mounds of trap rock, covered with a rusty-looking rubble called *mohrum*, its first debris. Others of greater amplitude are covered with black or brown soils, patched here and there with deep violet or jasper red, all more or less advanced stages in the decomposition of the same trap debris. Earths similarly diversified fill up the intermediate troughs in the undulating champaign. The hard surface of the exposed trap is scarred with innumerable runnels, winding in and out among the clefts of the rock, while through the less resistant soil accumulated in the hollows the gathered torrents have ploughed deep and straight channels for themselves. The black soil is the *regur* or "cotton soil" *par excellence* of India, already referred to, the inexhaustible, priceless treasure of the agriculturists of the Dakhan. It covers all the most level portions of the *desh*, and is merely the ultimate stage of the brown earth derived by direct disin-

* I believe that this local name for the Arabian *Acacia* is an indication of its having been introduced into Western India from Babylonia. In Hindustani *babuli* means "Babylonian;" *babel-khana*, "a brothel," *i.e.*, "Babylonian house;" *babiliyih*, "enchantment," and "wine," and "poison," with a poetical signification.

tegration from the ferruginous rock on which it rests. Mixed with decomposed vegetation, and in conditions favourable to the solution of the alkalis combined with silica in its fels-spar, it forms a rich, light, and pulverulent staple equal in fertility and ease of cultivation to the finely lixiviated alluvium of the Nile, the *looes* or celebrated fluvial loam of the Rhine-lands, and the *tschernozieme* or wheat soil of Southern Russia; all of which, like the *regur* of the Dakhan, are derived ultimately from crystalline rocks.

Such is the unvaried aspect of the Dakhan beyond the limits of the eastern spurs of the Syhadris; and the way in which the landscape becomes broken up as these spurs are gradually approached, is well exemplified by following the Poona hills backward from Sholapur to Khandala. Advancing westward from the last station, along the old military road, we meet, at Bhigvan, a flat, terraced, and symmetrical hill, protruding abruptly from the plain, the advanced link of a chain, looming like a coast line along the right horizon. It is the lowest step, the outmost ripple of the Syhadris. At Patus the ramifications of their spurs become more lofty and complicated, closing in on the road, which, always rising and falling, is still a steady, although still most easy ascent. At Arangaon, the fourth halt from Sholapur, a jasper-red wackè, is met with it, capped by a decomposing ferruginous trap. At the line of contact with the trap the wackè is hard and lateritious, but lower it becomes more and more earthy. Wherever the trappean rocks exist in the Dakhan we are sure to find this laterite near; it generally caps the *ghats*; and, according to Dr. H. J. Carter, the distinguished geologist of Western India, it is essentially "formed of red iron clay, the iron of which, by means of segregation, has formed itself into cells and irregular tubes, chiefly at the expense of the clay which is contained in their interior." It would appear to be derived from basalt, which first disintegrates into a wackè, and then, by a sort of reaction, becomes laterite. It is soft when fresh dug, but dries into

a hard stone on exposure, and is thus admirably adapted for building. Great masses of this strange rock occur in the Nizam's Dominions, eastward of Sholapur. Its special feature at Arangaon is its association with a powdery calcareous deposit, usually found elsewhere in nodules, called by the natives *kankar*, which occurs amongst it in immense heaps. Thus a nullah or watercourse, to the west of the town, passes for some distance through nothing but compact *kankar*, and then through *kankar* and wackè mixed promiscuously together. The *kankar* from being more concrete than the wackè generally stands out beyond it. Both are indifferently overlaid by a secondary effusion of trap, which appears, where touching it, to have crystalized the *kankar* into radiated zeolites. In a field from which the secondary trap had been denuded, the mounds of *kankar* amongst the wackè are indicated by smooth, white, irregular patches, many yards in diameter scattered over the red ground. At Bhigvan the puce and lavender trap rock [amygdaloid], which is friable at Sholapur, is hard, and used as a building stone. At Mulud, a section of the river bank, at a spot near the camping ground, presents below a brown trap veined with zigzag bands of *kankar*, and above a solidified stratum of *kankar*, crammed with worn blocks of various traps. It has resisted the action of the river so much better than the trap below that it projects for some distance in a ledge beyond the latter. It is covered by a deep deposit of black soil. In many parts of the river bed the trap is so completely decomposed that, although looking quite hard, it can be dug out with the hands to obtain water, or to form extempory bathing-troughs; yet every crystal in the rock remains *in situ*. Below the pebbly bed of the Bhima at this place layers of soft, plastic *kankar* were being dug into, when I was there thirty years ago, by the railway engineers. Patus is situated in a *regur* plain of immense extent, studded by several low, tabular hills, covered with huge black blocks of basalt, and contrasting strangely with

the shoreless green ocean of *jawari* [*Sorghum vulgare*] fields from which they rise. Some of the blocks are boulders, others, evidently from their quadrangular form, and the accurate way in which they are piled on each other, remain in the situations in which they were upheaved, and have been simply unmasked by weathering. The distant horizon is bounded by lofty mountains, mostly tabular, rising step on step, like an amphitheatre; a solitary group on the west is peaked; while between the rolling spurs, which project like promontories into the plain, stretch broad reaches of luxuriant fields for miles, like arms of the sea. From Yevut, until amidst the basaltic ramparts which on all sides dominate Poona, the scene is open to the right; while on the left the road lies along the base of an unbroken range of flat, stratified heights, on the most prominent of which stands a Hindu temple. Onwards, and up to Khandala, the formation attains its grandest developments, rising to the immeasurable, flat-topped mountain masses of alternate green forest bands and black basalt cliffs, and the fantastic peaks and pinnacles already described; and exhibiting after the outburst of the rains in June the added feature of the gigantic, although transient waterfalls, which from every declivity and precipice, and through every winding gorge, pour down from June to September the flood waters of the ubiquitous affluents of the Kistna.

And from these altitudes, so attractive in their serene silence from October to May, and so repellent in the appalling atmospheric uproar of "the South-West Monsoon"* [*Hindu mausam*, Arabic *mausim*, "season"], we again look down, north and south of Bombay Harbour, toward the

* The "Burst of the Monsoon at Bombay," which is as great a factor in the agriculture of the Dakhan as the geology of the "Western Ghats," will be found described by me in *The Times* of January 8, 1880. I have described the botany of Matharan in the *Bombay Saturday Review* of October 13th and 20th, 1866; the hill station of Mander Deo in the *Friend of India* of March 1, 1866; and the geology of Western India in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* for July and September, 1858.

setting sun, upon the low-lying Konkans, their wooded hills and dales, their palmy plains, their shore belt of salt marshes and dark-leaved mangroves, and the pale green waters of the Erythrean sea.

The Plough.

When engaged in the contemplation of the creative power of God, as manifested in the geology and general physiography of the Mahratta Country, we are apt to momentarily regard merely human affairs and interests as altogether insignificant and contemptible; and to exclaim with the Hebrew Psalmist:—"What is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him." And yet when we come to examine the wonderful ways in which the Mahratta *rayat*, or cultivator, has adapted himself to his surrounding conditions of soil and climate, and gradually secured his economic dominion over them, it seems to us again as though the Almighty had contrived them to no other end than to subserve the purposes of man; and as if indeed God Himself was one with Nature, or the Divine reason residing in the whole world and in its parts, and adjusting and determining them all to the wellbeing and highest happiness of humanity.

Between the reaping in January and February of the *rabi*, literally "spring," otherwise called "the cold weather" and "the dry weather" crop, consisting chiefly of wheat, barley, gram, peas, lentils, and safflower, sown in October and November, and the sowing in June and July of the *kharif*, literally "autumnal," otherwise called "the summer" and "the rain" crop, consisting chiefly of *jawari* [*Sorghum vulgare*], *bajri* [*Penicellaria spicata*], rice, mays, and numerous species of country pulse, and *til* [*Sesamum orientale*], all reaped in October and November; in this fallow interval between February and June, the central plain of the Dakhan assumes, particularly during the sullen stillness of the direct and the reflected solar heat from

11 a.m. to 3 p.m., a scorched and desolated appearance : a yearly recurring memento of the ominous fact that Southern India after all lies within the solstitial, and therefore desert zone of the northern hemisphere ; and that only by a wide promotion by the State of scientific forestry, and irrigation works, which should chiefly consist of dams along the natural lines of the trap dykes crossing the rivers, and by assiduous cultivation on the part of the *rayat*, can even the Mahratta Country, beyond the immediate shadows of the Syhadris, be made certain of an adequate rainfall and water supply, and secured against famine. But all is changed, as by an enchanter's spell, with the first fearful deafening peals of the burst of the Monsoon, and the furious downpour, amid sudden gleams and flashes of lightning, and ceaseless reverberations of thunder, of the divinely odorous and revivifying rain. In a night, as I have known it happen at Kaladgi and Sholapur, the parched earth of the four previous months turns to the tenderest, liveliest green ; rivalling in softness of texture, and outvieing in vivacity of hue the azure of the now refreshed skies outstretched above it. And when the flowers of this, the true Indian spring, begin to appear upon the green expanse, and, trembling like stars in every breath of air that blows across them, first unlock their painted petals, white, red, blue, yellow, and purple, to the day, beholding them, one feels that there is no pleasure under heaven equal to that of looking upon bright, fragrant flowers, fresh blooming in their native fields : and wonderful as is the revelation of the forest vegetation of the Syhadris, the charm is still greater of the enchanting inflorescence of the vernal Dakhan plains.

A few weeks later, and round all the hamlets, and villages, or rather townships, and the palatine and sacred cities [*Civitates Neocoræ*] of Maharashtra, as far as the eye can reach the fields are already everywhere swelling high with pulse and cereal, grains, oil seed, and fibre and dyeing plants, sown for the autumnal harvest.

Pliny tells a story of a Roman freedman, who having found himself able, from a very small piece of land, to raise a more abundant harvest than his neighbours could from the largest farms, was accused of enticing away their crops by sorcery; when, pointing to his firmly-hafted mattock, and stoutly-bound plough, and sleek oxen, all of which he had collected in his defence before the magistrate: "Here, Roman citizens," he cried, "are my implements of magic; but it is impossible for me to exhibit to your view, or to bring into this Forum, those midnight toils of mine, those early watchings, those sweats, and those fatigues." It is the perfected indigenous plough of the country, the product of three thousand years experience, and the master's eye everywhere, that not once, but twice in each year, brings about the same magical results in Maharashtra, and, I might add, throughout India.

Some nine or ten years ago Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen had photographs taken of the native ploughs in the India Museum at South Kensington, for the purpose of enabling a leading firm of English agricultural mechanists to manufacture similar ploughs for use in this country.

They really need not have gone so far as India for improved ploughs for light soils, and small peasants' holdings, for the single stilt plough in use in the Shetlands is identical with the native plough used in the Dakhan. The foot-plough, *caschroom*, of the Hebrides, is yet simpler; and it is probably the simplest plough now known. It can be carried on a man's shoulder, or under his arm, when he goes forth to his work in the morning, and returns home from it in the evening; and it would be really more useful than any Indian plough in the cultivation of the small patches of arable bog-land in Ireland.

I believe it was also the hope of the English firm to undersell the native manufacturers of agricultural implements in India. It was an evil hope, and fortunately there is no chance of its ever being fulfilled. In India the cultivators manufacture their implements almost entirely

themselves. In the Mahratta country the *rayat* makes up the whole of the plough himself, except the iron-work on it. This is made separately, and so adjusted to the wood-work, that, after the days' ploughing is done, the *rayat* removes it, and carries it home with him every night. This iron-work is all for which he pays directly "out of pocket;" and the price of the whole plough, wood-work and iron-work, is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rupees, *i.e.*, 5s. to 6s. The cost of the native drill plough is from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d., including the wooden receptacle [carved with figures of the rural gods, Hanumant or Krishna], into which the seed in sowing is poured. No English manufacturers, here or in India, will ever make any ploughs below these prices. In the Mahratta Country a slighter plough is also used for the light ferruginous soils of the *mavals*, and a heavier for the deep-stapled black soil of the *desh*, but everywhere these two ploughs are made convertible by means of a weight, which can be fastened to or removed from the ham of the plough. There are also two kinds of drill ploughs, one used for sowing safflower and gram, and the other for sowing *bajri* (*Penicillaria spicata*), and *urid* (*Phaseolus radiatus*). The Indian bullock hoe is most effective for cutting up the stalks and roots of plants and loosening the earth in which they have grown. It invariably follows the drill plough to cover in the furrows sown by the latter.

The application made by these English manufacturers to Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen is, however, most interesting and instructive, as showing that even in agriculture England has lessons to learn from the natives of India. I had great practical experience in flower, fruit, and field cultivation all the time I was in Bombay, and always took the most intimate interest in the ways and means of native agriculture; and I am convinced that all the doctrinaire outcry against it as unscientific and wasteful, from the days of Tennant and James Mill downwards, is as ignorant and insular as the stereotyped depreciation of Indian art manufactures by the same writers, and in the reports on the first

international exhibitions held in Europe. This is not the occasion for entering into any lengthened chemical statement on the subject, yet I would wish to briefly set forth here some of the more striking facts in proof of the exhaustless richness of Indian soils, and the perfected science of Indian agriculture. There is no manure known more fertilising than March dust. Its fruitfulness is proverbial. In India we have this March dust blowing everywhere all through the year. In the Dakhan the deep-stapled black cotton soil is ploughed through and through to the rock below it by the wide gaping cracks formed in it during the hot season, from February to June. As soon as these cracks are formed they are filled with the fine blown dust which loads the winds that all day long, and all through the night, sweep the whole country. As soon as the cracks are filled, new ones form again at once, and thus the soil is kept in a perpetual state of almost molecular disintegration and movement, and is ceaselessly oxygenated by these simple, natural processes to its lowest depths.

The trap rocks, which are the substratum of the Mahratta country, abound in quartzose and zeolitic crystals, containing all the mineral constituents necessary for the renewal of arable soils. I have seen millions of tons of these crystals heaped up on the weather-worn eastern slopes of the *ghats* about Yevut and Patus. There they lie baking and cracking in the sun, and eroding in the wind, during all the hot season; and when the overwhelming rains follow they are rolled down for hundreds and hundreds of miles along the beds of all the rivers which pour down from the *ghats* across the Dakhan to the Coromandel Coast; and with their flood waters spread the finely lixiviated fertilising dust into which the crystals are ground, far and wide over all the plains of the Dakhan. The black "Cotton soil" of India needs, in short, for ordinary field cultivation, no other manuring than that which in this way it receives from the open hand of nature. Yet there

is always in every village plenty of the best material for artificial manuring, where it is needed, in the deposits formed in the village tanks. It is in constant use for garden cultivation. *But in truth the whole soil of the Dakhan is in a sense tank deposit.* The trap formation of Western India slopes, as has been shown, from west to east, like a shelving beach, and crops above the general surface of the Dakhan in a succession of reefs, running at right angles to the eastern spurs of the Syhadris, between the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts; and the staple of the soil of the Dakhan was originally deposited from the succession of fresh-water lakes, formed by the rain water falling on the Syhadris and between their eastern spurs, and pounded back between these longitudinal trap dykes; lakes which at one time covered the greater part of the surface of Southern India. When the rocky barriers were at last forced, the waters of the lakes drained off into the Bay of Bengal, through the channels now marked by the courses of the Godavari and the Kistna; leaving the plain of the Dakhan covered to the depth of often thirty and forty feet, with its exhaustless arable soil. One can always trace where these rents have taken place by the great breadth of arable land behind them, and the sudden contraction of the bed of the river, which often at these points flows with a peculiar noise as between closing flood-gates. The village of Gulgula, near one of these rents in the course of the Kistna, just beyond Mudhol, derives its name from this noise. It is the same word as "gurgle" and "gargoyle," and as Gilgal, the name of two or three places in Palestine, and Silsilis [the soft Greek form of the Arabic Jiljilleh], the name of an ancient town on the Nile, near a rocky barrier in the course of that river which was burst by the lake, once existing behind it, within historical times.

I am referring, of course, to the historical black soil of the Dakhan, not to the red; the specific "Cotton soil" of Anglo-Indians, and the *regur* of the Hindus. In this word the syllable "*ur*," i.e., "*ar*," is probably the same root, re-

ferring originally to ploughing, which in so many Indo-European languages enters into words connected with agriculture, and the ideas and institutions derived from agriculture, such as *arvum aratrum*, &c., &c., harvest, altar, area, arable, aristocracy, &c. It is the root of the word Arya. *Reg*, i.e., *rig*, is the same word as the Scotch "riggs" (entering also into "regular," &c.), or the lines of heaped up earth formed in ploughing. *Regur* therefore means ar-able simply, and this ancient Hindu designation of the "Cotton soil" of the Dakhan is an incidental proof of its immemorial reputation for fertility.*

There is also another unmistakable proof of its inherent fertility. Pliny, in enumerating the different qualities of arable soil, pretty much in the same way as we find them enumerated in the Settlement Reports of the Bombay Presidency, and describing the tests for them, points out that the one infallible characteristic of a naturally rich and wholesome soil is "the divine odour" it exhales, when it is first turned up, or when the first dews of twilight fall on it, or rain after prolonged drought. Every one who knows India will recognize that this is the distinguishing odour of the black "Cotton soil" of the Dakhan; and the authentic credential of its being the charmed treasure, which has made the fame and felicity of India.

The Hindus habitually use manure in the cultivation of rice. Some time in the hot season the land is strewed with all the refuse of the homestead, floor sweepings, and old thatch, old clothes, *et cetera*, which are burned together on the surface of the rice fields. Then when the rains set in, the ashes from this burning are trodden by the men, women, and children, and by the cows and buffaloes, into the ground, until the whole surface is kneaded into a plastic, cohesive mud, called *chikal*, in which the rice is sown. The effect of burning the manure on

* The actual word *regur* is Telugu and Kanarese, and as used in these languages means simply "black-[soil]."

the surface to be sown is that it bakes the ground immediately below the upper layer of fertile mud into an impervious bottom, which prevents the rain from draining through; rice requiring that its roots should be completely covered with water all the time it is growing. In a carefully cultivated rice field, or rather pond, the water of the rainy season, June to September, only disappears by evaporation; by the completion of which process the grain is ripe for the harvest. More than this; rice cultivation, and brick and pottery making, are almost everywhere interdependent industries in India. The natural crude clay of the soil is too contractile, and too little cohesive for brick and pottery making. It has therefore to be kneaded with ashes before it can be used for these purposes, and in fact it is the *barsat-mati*, or "rain-earth" of the rice fields, which is always used for the best native bricks, and pots and pans, in the Mahratta country. The potter is almost always also the rice cultivator of the village. *There could not be a stronger proof than this of the thoroughly practical and scientific character of Indian agriculture.* The simple reason why every attempt made by self-sufficient Englishmen to make bricks and pottery in Bombay at first proved a ruinous failure, was that crude clay, obtained, as in England, from the first ground to be purchased in the market, was used in their manufacture, instead of *barsat-mati*.

In the Dakhan the fields are never ploughed oftener than once in two years, and in some places only once in four or five, and even six years. The surface *regur* does indeed become exhausted by continual cropping without ploughing; but with occasional ploughing, just to turn the soil, and, still more important, to clear the thick mat of creeping weeds, its fertility is exhaustless, if it is of any staple, and a foot is sufficient. In a word, *regur* is itself manure in its final chemical form; and the Syhadri mountains and their spurs, its original source, may be compared to an everlasting mound of manure, and the Monsoon drainage of them to liquid dressing, by the regular applica-

tion of which the incorruptible vitality of the *regur* deposits in the plains below is perennially renovated.

The *nangar*, or ordinary Mahratta plough, is made up of the six following parts :

1. The *dant*,* “dentale” or “dentalia,” of the Romans, ἔλευμα of the Greeks, the body of the plough, or share beam of *babul* wood [*Acacia arabica*].

2. The *phal*, “vomis” of the Romans, ὄνυς of the Greeks, the spade-shaped iron share, fastened to the share beam by its long handle [*phala*], and a triangular iron girdle called *wasu*. It will be remembered that the Roman spade was called “pala.”

3. The *ruman*, “buris” of the Romans, and γύης of the Greeks, the upright stilt, or plough tail, fastened into the broad end of the plough beam.

4. The *mutiah*, “stiva” and “manicula” of the Romans, and ἑτέλη of the Greeks, the cross handle passed through the top of the *ruman*, by which the plough is held and guided.

5. The *alus*, “temo” of the Romans, and ῥύμα [cf. *ruman* above] of the Greeks, the pole or plough-tree, by which the plough was drawn.

6. The *juh*, “jugum” of the Romans, and ζυγόν of the Greeks, the yoke for the oxen drawing the plough.

This plough can easily be converted from a light to a heavy one, by placing a stone weight on the share beam, or by having a second heavier share beam to substitute for the lighter when necessary. A light plough, drawn by two oxen, is used on the acclivities of the *navals*, but in the *desh* a heavy plough, drawn by four and six, and even eight, oxen is occasionally used.

The drill plough, for sowing at the same time as ploughing, is also of two kinds—the heavier, called the *moghar*, for sowing gram and wheat ; and the lighter, called

* The Roman *dentale* was sometimes made up, as is the Mahratta *danti* of two symmetrical pieces, and its name then took the plural form of *dentalia*.

pabhar for sowing millets and other small grains. Both are composed of the eight corresponding parts following :

1. The *lohr* or roughly triangular transverse beam, which is heavier in the *moghar* than in the *pabhar*.

2. The four *phan* [cf. fangs], or pieces of wood inserted, pointing forwards, at regular intervals into the lower edge of the transverse *lohr*.

3. The four *pharoli*, or four iron tips of the four *phan*.

4. The four *nala* [nullahs], or hollow bamboos inserted by their lower ends through the four *phan*, and opening out on the ground, behind the four *pharoli*.

5. The *charh*, or wooden cup [carved with the images of Hanuman, or Krishna-Veshnu, or Siva, or all of them], into the bottom of which the four converging *nala* are inserted by their upper ends; and thus carry off the seed poured into the *charh*, and deposit it through each of the four *phan* in furrows, simultaneously turned up by the four iron-tipped *phan*.

6 and 7. The *dandi* or plough-pole; and the *juh* or yoke.

8. The *ruman* or plough tail.

The whole of the apparatus for sowing, the *charh* and four *nala*, is removeable, and this plough can therefore, when required, serve as a harrow.

It is identical in principle with the drill plough of Mesopotamia * represented on the black stone, belonging to the Earl of Aberdeen, which is a monument of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon, B.C. 681-668: and looking at this figure, and considering that lower Mesopotamia was the earliest seat of advanced agriculture, including river damming and canal construction, in Anterior Asia, there can be little doubt of the drill plough of India having originally been obtained from Babylonia. It was probably introduced into Western India by sea, direct from the Persian Gulf; while the ordinary single-stilted plough, which must also be given a Mesopotamian origin, would seem to have passed overland into

* It is figured in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 198. Edition of 1864.

North-Western India, through Persia. The Greeks and Romans must also through their common ancestors have received their single-stilted plough from Mesopotamia; while the later double-handled plough of Europe is to be traced back to the influence of ancient Egypt.

In the *kulav* or hoe, a long iron scraper, called *phas*, is attached by two lateral pegs called *janavli*, to the transverse beam or *lohr*, into which are inserted the draft pole, or *dandia*, supporting the yoke or *jukh*, at its end, and the upright stilt or *ruman*, with its cross handle or *mutiah*.

The remaining draft implements are the *alvat* or *muhig*, a long transverse beam fixed to a pole and used to level down ploughed fields and break up clods; the *jang* or *janjia*, or common husbandry cart, consisting of a large wicker work basket-like body, set on solid hewn wooden wheels, and used for carrying weeds, rubbish, and manure; and the *gara*, consisting of a flat light frame, of four long longitudinal planks, fixed by three shorter transverse planks, set upon solid wooden wheels, and used for carrying produce. The cost of the *gara* is Rs. 100, and it is the most expensive article of rolling stock in a Dakhan farmyard.

The chief hand implements are the *yila* or sickle, and the *koeta* or bill-hook, and the *kudal*, *kudli* or pick; and so perfectly adapted are the forms of these implements to the work to be done with them, and so true is the steel of which they are formed, that in the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, I had to use them in preference to the best American and English-made gardening tools. This is a complete list of the moveable plant required in the cultivation of the Dakhan soils.

The cut grain is stacked before threshing, and is threshed by being trodden out by oxen on some near spot, made smooth by damping it with water, and beating it down, and cow-dunging it, and allowing it to dry in the sun. A pole [*tevrak*] is then stuck in the middle, and six or eight bullocks, half on one side of the pole and half on the other, are driven round and round it, until al^l

the grain is tramped out, and the stalks crushed into a friable fodder much relished by the cattle. The winnowing or *upun* is done with a winnowing basket [*upun-vati*], identical with the "mystica vannus Iacchi" of Virgil; and the grain is then stored in baskets, called *kuning*, made of the twigs of *nirgand* [*Vitex Negundo*], and thatched over the top, like old fashioned beehives, or in earthenware jars called *hotli*, of very archaic form and decoration, being square at the top and bottom, but bulged out between, and marked round the neck with bold notches, or a rope-like moulding. When the grain is wanted for household use, it is ground by the women in a hand-mill called *chaki* ["wheel"] consisting of two round stones, one turned on the other by a wooden peg fixed in the rim of the upper stone, through a hole in the centre of which the grain is poured in between it and the nether stone. Husked grains, such as rice, and some of the smaller millets, are pounded in a mortar called *ukal* with a pestle called *musal*. The latter is a straight piece of wood four or five feet long, tipped at the bottom with iron, and at the top with a round knob, cut on the stick itself. The mortar is of wood, shaped like a truncated hour glass, and notched archaically round the constriction of its body.

This exhausts the distinctive properties of a Dakhan *rayat's* farmyard; but in every considerable village there is sure to be found an oil mill, and a sugar-cane press; and among the surrounding fields and plantations one or more wells [*vihir*], with their high-raised, overhanging apparatus of running wheel, and folded large leather bucket, of about sixty gallons' capacity, for raising the water, and sending it flowing through a thousand tiny channels over all the adjacent acres of lush and swelling vegetation. They present one of the most characteristic sights round an Indian agricultural township; and nothing can be more delectable in the noontide of the cold season than to listen to the hardy, manful Dakhan *rayat's*, stripped naked to their work, singing joyously at their wells, to

the sweet, low musical accompaniment of the water ceaselessly rippling from them.

Add to these out-of-door properties the appliances to be found indoors; the large earthenware water jars, the earthenware or brass lamps, the jars for holding meal, spices, and condiments, the pestle and mortar for bruising them together, the kneeding board and a rolling-pin for preparing the unleavened cakes of *bajri* and *jawari*, the iron griddle for baking them, and the copper pots and pans in which the *bajri* and *jawari* porridge, the pulse porridge and pulse soup, and the spiced vegetable stews, and the sweetmeats, are cooked; and you exhaust the whole inventory of the mechanism, from the plough downward to the last necessities of domestic furniture, of the agricultural life of the Dakhan; of which the essential element, and the prime movers, so to say, in the development of the latent wealth of the soil into food and other products for human use, are the hardy, thrifty *rayat* and his wife, and his oxen and plough.

It is the simple agricultural life portrayed by Hesiod, Virgil and Pliny, and by the *Scriptores* [Varro, Columella, Taurus Æmilianus, and Cato] *Rei Rusticæ Veteres Latini*, and by Tusser; but without that spirit of emulous competition, which, from the first days of their enforced exodus from the East, has been the necessarily disturbing and disintegrating element in the agriculture, as in the general progressive civilization, of the Aryas of the West. It is not meant that the steam-farming of England and America, if applied in India, would not augment the productiveness of its soil, or at least extend its area of production; although for all the social disadvantages resulting from the growth of large estates in the West, the only advantage, in this very respect of extended arable, England has over India is that, while a fraction less than one-third of surface of land and water is under cultivation in India, in England one-half of the total acreage of the country is cultivated. But the point of my defence is

that the Hindus, having never forgotten their natural interdependence among themselves, and having recognized their indissoluble fraternity as the first law of their social organization, the responsibilities and obligations of which are enforced on all from the highest to the lowest, it would be impossible to prematurely introduce the vaunted farming of England into India, even if its methods and appliances were in themselves improvements, without involving the destruction of the beneficent co-operative rural life on which the whole system of the civilization of the Hindus has been immemorially based. That system and that life, like all else that is of human origin, are probably destined to disappear ; but, if we are wise, this will happen gradually, through self-evolved changes in the internal consciousness of the race of Brahmanical Hindus ; and as answerable, in the present, for the happiness of the people of India, as distinguished from the "progress and prosperity" of their country, or, in other words, its scientific exploitation, the last thing to be desired or encouraged by us is the hastening forward of the probably inevitable reconstruction of Hindu society by means for which the people of India are not yet prepared, and which could therefore only act with destructive and revolutionary effect.

The introduction of the mechanism of Western agriculture into India is quite impossible in the present economic condition of the country ; and every attempt at it, in my experience, has proved a ridiculous failure. I remember a steam-plough being brought out to one of the native states in the Bombay Presidency. It was led out festooned with roses and jasmine, like an Indian bridegroom, into a rich *regur* field, and all of us who were called together to witness the prodigies it was to perform, were also wreathed with roses, and touched on our hands and foreheads with *atar*, and sprinkled all over with rose water ; and then with a snort, and a shriek, and a puff of smoky steam, the gigantic mechanism made a vigorous, loud-hissing rush forward, but, as was at once perceived, also gradually downward,

until, after vainly struggling for awhile against its ignominious fate, it at last settled down silently and fairly foundered in the furrow it had so deeply delved into the soft, yielding soil. And then not all the king's soldiers and all the king's men, nor all the servants of the incensed Bhavani [Athene Boarmia, "the Ox-yoker" here], the hereditary blacksmiths and carpenters from the neighbouring palatine village, could do anything with the portentous mechanism. Nothing could be done with it as a steam-plough. It had been recklessly brought into a sacro-economic system wherein it had no place, except as another god, and a new god it was at once made. As soon as it could be moved out of the field it was sided into the village temple hard by; and there its huge steel share was set up on end, and bedaubed red, and worshipped as a *lingam*, or symbol of Siva; and there, I suppose, it stands an object of worship to this day.

The Indian plough is, in short, part and parcel of a fixed crystalized life, of which it is the primitive and primary integrant molecule, regulating the relations and determining the dimensions, and ultimate character of the entire and indissoluble economic, social, and religious system built up on it. In that life all are but co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, in which the provision and respect due to every individual is enforced under the highest and religious sanctions, and every office and calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations of caste on which the whole heirarchy of Hinduism hinges.

Thus the social aspects of a Dakhan village are as of a large family, all living together that united life of contentment in moderation, which is the perfection of human felicity. The first sound heard in one of these villages after the deep stillness of the night, just before the dawn, is of "the house father," who having, on rising, worshipped the family gods, is now moving about quietly, with his head and shoulders still wrapped up in the *chadar* ["sheet"] in which he has

been sleeping, rousing up the bullocks and oxen, stalled either in a yard behind the house or in the porch in front. It is a deliciously soothing sound. Then having got the cattle out and lit his cigarette, of tobacco rolled up in a leaf of the *apta* [*Bauhinia tomentosa*], and taken up his breakfast of *jawari* or *bajri* cakes, cooked the day before, and tied up with an onion, or some pickle, over-night, by his wife, he strolls off, at daybreak, with his oxen before him, to his fields; and there yoking the oxen and stripping to his work, whether it be to sow or to reap, he works on for a steady hour until eight o'clock, and again, after ten or twenty minutes spent in eating his breakfast, for four hard fagging hours more until mid-day.

Ere yet he leaves his home, the voice of his wife is heard singing as she grinds in the mill the supply of flour for the day; and this done, and the rooms all swept out and fresh cow-dunged, and the *tulsi* plant before the porch perambulated, and her own breakfast eaten, she cooks the dinner, consisting of fresh baked cakes of *bajri* or *jawari* meal, and either a mess of pulse porridge, or a pot of highly spiced pulse soup, which she is careful to carry to her husband by twelve o'clock. The cultivators within hale of each other generally take this meal together; and after the four hours from breakfast spent in the furrows or amongst the stubble, they devour it with obvious zest of appetite, joking and laughing heartily all the time: so true is, of the peasant proprietor's, independent life all over the world:

“Pingue solum lassat, sed juvat ipse labor.”

So from half-an-hour to an hour is spent: and then up to two or half-past two o'clock the men lie down to sleep, lying where they had eaten, on their *cumblis*, or out-of-door woollen wrappers. While they sleep, the women dine off the scraps that are left, and then either return to their houses at once to attend to whatever may be wanted to be done there, and to prepare the supper, or spend an hour or two

assisting their husbands in the fields previously to going home.

When the men awake they re-yoke the oxen and resume their work for three hours more, or until the sun sets, and then return in long winding lines towards their respective villages, walking along leisurely, chatting and laughing, and always keeping their oxen before them. Then, tying up the cattle, after bathing, and again worshipping the household gods, the husband at eight o'clock has his supper of pulse porridge.

After this the social life within the village suddenly bursts into its brightest, happiest activity. The temples of the gods are in turn all visited: namely, of Mahadeo, "the Great God," meaning Siva, and Bhairava an incarnation of Siva, and Hanuman, and of any other gods to whom there may be temples or shrines or altars.

Hanuman, or "Long-Jaw," is the favourite village god. Originally he was possibly the *totem* of the Vindhyan races of Central and Southern India; and he is adopted as their representative in the Ramayana. But in the official pantheon of the Brahmans he is a sort of satyr leader of the oreads and dryads of the wooded mountains and hills and dales of the Malabar coast and Gondwana: and as Arcadian Pan was the son of Hermes, so Hanuman is the son of Pavana, "the Wind," or a personification of Vayu, who is "the Vagrant" wind also. He represents the sun as it seems, to those who pass through the forests of the Syhadris, to leap from tree to tree above them. The gleams of light that shine suddenly on the wayfarer's path through dark woods, and the pleasurable earth-born glow that springs up in the youthful heart at the sight of the luxuriance of nature, and also the feeling of awe which sometimes seizes the lonely traveller on suddenly coming on some uncanny spot, these are all Hanuman. Again, he is the shadows that steal through forests and across valleys, and from one hill-top to another at sunset. The vocal cloud of dust which swept from Eleusis towards the

Grecian fleet at Salamis, like a wafted echo of the songs of the Mysteries, the Hindus would probably interpret as a higher apparition of Hanuman. He is, indeed, a local personification of the vital power of nature in its more familiar and more playful manifestations and emotions; and these the Hindus as naturally represent by a monkey as the Semites of Anterior Asia did by the wild goat, the *atadu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and *atud* of the Hebrews; from which names, through their Greek form, we derive the word satyr. Thus, in Western, Southern, and Central India, Hanuman is everywhere the favourite local divinity of the lower agricultural classes, whose innocent gaiety of heart, so promptly responsive to all the pleasanter conditions of their life, he precisely personifies. Thus the vicinity of the temples of Hanuman is always a popular rendezvous of an evening.

Every month, moreover, and indeed almost every week, some religious anniversary is celebrated, of which the principal among the agricultural communities of the Dakhan are the following five: The Holi, or saturnalia of the spring equinox, held towards the end of March. The Dasara, or "Tenth," held early in October, when, after nine days of mourning for the ravages of Mahesh-asura—"the Buffalo-headed demon," from whom the State and city of Mysore take their name—on the tenth day, in joy for his destruction by Bhavani, all the villagers, the higher and lower "twelve" hereditary village officials, the Brahmans, the whole body of the cultivators, and even the occasional Mahomedan "sacrificer" or butcher within their gates, proceed in their gayest costumes to perambulate the village boundaries, and to worship the trees planted there, more especially the *apta* [*Bauhinia tomentosa*], and, where it grows, also the *palas* [*Butea frondosa*]. The Devali, or "Feast of Lanterns" [literally "Lamp-rows"], held twenty days after the Dasara, and celebrated amid the greatest rejoicings in honour of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, as the goddess of "Good Luck," and of Saravati, the

consort of Brahma, and goddess of learning, and protectress of bank-books, ledgers, and all money accounts.

The two remaining festivals are kept up exclusively by the women, namely, the Nag Panchami, on the 25th of July, in honour of the destruction of the serpent Kali by Krishna ; and the Gauri, on the 25th of August, in honour of Parvati in her epithet of Gauri, " the Yellow-Haired." The latter is specially observed by making up sweetmeats in the shape of round balls and eating a couple of them before going to bed. For two months beforehand songs in honour of Gauri are nightly rehearsed by the women. Their principal employment, however, of an evening is in visiting from house to house, arranging the marriages in the village, and settling the names of the latest-born babies. Every Mahratta family has its crest, and no marriages can take place between families having the same crest, a clear survival of totemism.

The Mahratta women of the *rayat* class, although they soon lose the good looks of their girlhood, are a fine, healthy race, tall and straight grown, modest, frank, and chatty ; and in their yellow, or shot red and purple, bodices [*chali*], and dark green, or indigo-blue, robes [*saris*], are everywhere, in the fields or in the village streets, welcome objects. The ladies of the higher castes, and particularly the *deshast* Brahmanis, are very comely, although the latter are not so fair as their *Konkanast* sisters. They are all known at a glance by their great beauty and richer clothing ; and as one of them sweeps past [*ἐλκεσίπεπλος*] in her flowing *sari* of crimson, gold-bordered, nothing can be nobler than its glow against her olive flesh-tints, as it waves round her stately figure, and ripples in gold about her dainty feet, a study worthy of a Lombard master's canvas. And *πυγιστόλος* also is there, loitering in the shadows of the big temple, not illicit, degraded, and depraved, but a recognized institution, established, endowed, and, indeed, sacramental.

A great deal of conversation also goes on every evening

with the village astrologer, especially as to the right day and hour for sowing the different kinds of crops ; and it is quite surprising to find the full and accurate knowledge the humblest husbandmen show in these consultations of the exact time in which the sun enters the successive signs of the zodiac, by which the sowing of rice, wheat, barley, *bajri*, *jawari*, and every other sort of grain, pulse, and oil seed, *et cetera*, is scrupulously regulated.

All this intercourse, which is conducted on the most familiar terms between the members of the same township, and in the open streets, by the light of the flaring oil lamps set, or hung, in every portico, or of the pillar of lamps when occasionally lighted before one or other of the temples, is of the most picturesque and cheering sociability. By ten o'clock nearly everybody has gone to bed ; except that when the songs of Tukaram, or the stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata are sung on moonlight evenings, these joyous *al fresco* reunions may be kept up to nearly midnight. Then the deepest night closes on each village and its dependent hamlets until six o'clock again the next morning. Thus in the division of the twenty-four hours the Dakhan rayat has, for the past 3,000 years, realized the vainly-hoped-for ideal of the English artizan, and at a twelfth of the cost :

“ Eight hours to work,
Eight hours to play,
Eight hours to sleep,
And eight pennies [not shillings] a day.”

He has realized also, and in the fullest security, the ideal co-operative life of the day-dreams of the socialists of the West. And is not this co-operative agricultural life of the people of India high farming in the noblest sense and conception of the term? Pliny, writing on the “Maxims of Ancient Agriculture” (bk. xviii. ch. 8), asks : “In what way, then, can land be most profitably cultivated?” and answers : “Why, in the words of our agricultural oracles, ‘by making good out of bad.’” Adding, “But

here it is only right that we should say a word in justification of our forefathers, who, in their precepts on this subject, had nothing else in view but the benefit of mankind, for when they used the term 'bad' here, they only mean to say that which cost the smallest amount of money. The principal object with them was, in all cases, to cut down expenses to the lowest possible sum." And further on, he quotes, "that maxim of Cato, as profitable as it is humane : 'Always act [in farming] in such a way as to secure the love of your neighbours.'"

The enactments embodied in the Code of Manu, and cognate law books of the Hindus, have achieved this consummation for India from before the foundations of Athens and Rome; and, through all that dark, backward, and abysm of time, we trace the bright outlines of a self-contained, self-dependent, symmetrical, and perfectly harmonious industrial economy, deeply rooted in the popular conviction of its sacro-sanct character, and protected, through every political and commercial vicissitude, by the absolute power and marvellous wisdom and tact of the Brahmanical priesthood, a social system in the possibility of which we could scarcely have believed, but that it still continues to exist, and to afford us, in the living results of its daily operation in India, a proof of the superiority in many unsuspected ways of the hieratic civilization of antiquity to the godless, joyless, modern civilization of the West.

Conclusion.

And this is the "unhappy India" of the writers on that country, who know not the things which really belong to its peace, and have acquired all their knowledge of it through "Statistical Abstracts" and "Blue Books."

Unhappy India, indeed! I might rather bemoan the unhappiness of England; where faith has no fixed centre of authority; where political factions rage so furiously that men seem to have lost all sense of personal shame, confusing right

with wrong, and wrong with right, and excusing the vilest treasons against the State on the plea of party necessity ; where every national interest is sacrificed to the shibboleth of unrestricted international competition ; and where, as a consequence, agriculture, the only sure foundation of society, languishes ; and the plough, the mainspring of all industrial action, no longer holds its proper place of public honour and pre-eminence.

The truth is, that closet publicists and politicians, trained in the competitive political principles of the West, do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. Indeed, they do not discern the distinction. They dwell among their books, and not with the people ; and that men do not live by bread alone is one of the strongest facts of life in India absolutely hidden from their eyes.

What we call prosperity exists only in figures, and has no place in the personal experience of the vast masses making up the population of the so-called " progressive " nations of the West. It merely means the accumulation of amazing wealth in the hands of a few, by the devouring, wolfish spoliation of the many ; and in its last result, the cruel, bitter contrast presented between the West End of London and the East. And do Europe and America desire to reduce all Asia to an East End ?

Happy India ! where all men may still possess themselves in natural sufficiency and contentment, and freely find their highest joys in the spiritual beliefs, or, let it be, illusions, which have transformed their trades-union village organization into a veritable " Civitas Dei."

Happy India indeed ! But how long shall it be before the Saturnian reign is brought to the same end in India as it was in Europe four centuries ago ? The sight of our manufacturing and commercial wealth, the fruit of our competitive civilization, so deceptively beautiful without, but within full of gall and ashes, like the Apples of Sodom, has filled the people of India, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta

and Bombay, with the same insatiable greed of gold as the opulence of Rome excited in the barbarians who were prompted by it to the destruction of the Empire ; and with which again the ancient and mediæval fables of the riches of the East inflamed the avarice, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of the renascent nations of the West, and lured them on, in speculative quest of India, to the huge invention of the Americas.

Through this contact between the East and the West at the Presidency towns, the traditionary ideal of life among the Parsis and Hindus is gradually becoming superseded by the English ideal ; according to which the basis of all social advancement and the standard of all moral worth, is the possession of money. That hangs on the hazard of a rude competition, in the prizes of which but few, of the many called, are chosen to participate ; and thus in the place of the old world content with the conditions of existence, we are arousing a universal spirit of discontent in India, the characteristic incentive of modern civilization, and have needlessly exaggerated it through the malign influences of the fastidiously godless system of eleemosynary education enforced by us on the country. The dark shadow, as of the legendary Upas tree, on Western civilization, is the slow poisoning, wherever it becomes rooted, of the vital atmosphere of the spiritual life latent in our human nature ; and there was no necessity for anticipating, by a direct attack on the ancestral faiths of the people of India, led as it is by professedly Christian missionaries,* the inevitable catastrophe that has everywhere dogged the steps of exclusively material civilizations, and at last involved them in self-destruction.

Examining in 1863 or 1864 some Parsi boys in the Fort school at Bombay, and asking the meaning of the word

* The first and best triumphs of Christianity were won by absorbing and transmuting the classical paganism of Greece and Rome, and not by arrogantly defaming it. The true destiny of the Christianity in India is not to destroy but to purify Hinduism.

“happiness,” one of them at once replied energetically, and with the applause of all his little class-fellows, “To make a crore of rupees [£1,000,000] in cotton speculations, and drive in a carriage and four,” *—adding, however, in the yet uncorrupted spirit of the boundless philanthropy of the ancient Buddhism of Asia,—“and to give away lakhs upon lakhs in charity.” Only a few weeks ago a distinguished Bengali Brahman, to whom I was pointing out that he was not in the least obliged to break with the religion of his forefathers because he was an “Agnostic,” replied: “You do not understand. It is not simply your education which has made me an Agnostic; I have rather been forced to become one by the high standard of civilized life you have set up in India. I really cannot afford to be a Hindu, and spend so much as a good Hindu must on his ‘undivided family,’ and in general charity; not if I am to keep up appearances, on the same income as Christian and Mahomedan gentlemen, who have no such compulsory demands on their means.”

Thus the lessons of the Indian plough, if rightly read, go deep; and he who runs may read them; and the deepest gulf before England is that which we are ourselves digging, by forcing the insular institutions of this country on the foreign soil of India. That is the special lesson of the English steam-plough laid up, in divinity, in the Jamkhandi State.

* “*Quadrigris petimus bene vivere.*”—Horace, *Ep.* I. 11, 29.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE revolt of Ishak Khan in Afghan Turkestan against the Ameer Abdurrahman has occurred rather sooner than was expected ; but as it was almost inevitable sooner or later, its occurrence is not an unmixed evil, because it must give our Government the means of judging his strength and capacity. There is still greater advantage in its happening at the present conjuncture, as, despite rumours to the contrary, the health and resources of the Ameer seem little impaired. So far as a Cabul ruler can be strong he is strong at the present moment, and if the chances of Abdurrahman and Ishak be reckoned up, it is all Lombard Street to a China orange on the victory of the former.

The doubts which have lately been perceptible in the official world as to the certitude of this success, arise from the reflection that Ishak would not have been mad enough to throw himself against the overwhelming strength of his cousin unless he knew something which we did not know. But a careful consideration of all the facts leading up to the rebellion will show that there is no necessity for any subtle reasoning. The sequence of events is simple and undisputed. The distrust between Ishak and Abdurrahman arose more than two years ago, and Ishak had not merely evaded invitations to Cabul, but he had deterred the Ameer from making a tour of inspection through Turkestan. When, therefore, the Ameer sent this summer a peremptory summons to Ishak to come to Cabul, it is not surprising that the latter refused to comply. There cannot be two opinions on the subject, that had he done so he would certainly have been thrown into prison and probably murdered.

Having decided to save his life at the cost of his loyalty, two courses remained open to him. He could wait quietly until the Ameer took steps to punish his act of defiance, and then, failing the power to resist, flee into Bokhara ; or he could assume the initiative, and endeavour to rally to his side such discontented elements as there may be in Afghanistan. The former was the more prudent course, but he chose the latter. The reason of his doing so was in all probability an exaggerated report of the Ameer's illness in July when he made over the administration to the Mustaufi Habibullah, and also of the successful skirmish of the Shinwarris with the forces of Gholam Hyder. The idea that the Ameer's malady had taken an exceedingly grave turn in August seems to have been general throughout the country, for one of the last Indian mails brought the news that the Ameer's general had to shoot two soldiers for spreading a report that Abdurrahman was dead. Had this news been true, there can be no doubt that Ishak's promptitude in proclaiming himself and in marching south would in all probability have secured to him the reversion of the Ameership. He had sufficient reason to believe that it was well founded, and he therefore chose the hazard of the die. In considering his conduct we must not assume that his information at Balkh eight weeks ago—when he took the final and perhaps fatal step—tallied with ours of the last few weeks. He believed the Ameer lay a-dying, and that his chance had come. It looks as if he had made a grievous mistake, and that he will have to bear the penalty alone.

The chief cause of present anxiety is that, prompt as the Ameer's measures have been, they may not be sufficiently quick to bring the contest to an end before the winter has either closed the passes of the Hindoo Koosh or rendered them impracticable for artillery and supplies. It is satisfactory to learn that Abdurrahman has sent an army under his son Habibullah to occupy the Bamian Pass, and march on Balkh, while Ishak has already entrusted his fortunes in the field to his son Ismail. The second cousins will thus fight

out the feud of their fathers, and we shall have the means of knowing whether they are likely to make their mark in the Afghan politics of the future. The revolt of Ishak must clear the atmosphere in two ways. It must dispel or establish the Ameer's danger from the north, so far as Ishak is concerned ; and it will show whether or not the young prince Habibullah has the courage and ability to make him a worthy successor to the Ameer'ship.

With regard to the result of this appeal to arms, there seems every reason to anticipate the success of the Ameer. If he has paid his troops regularly, as is asserted, they will not desert him, and the fact that both Badakshan and Maimena have remained staunch is much in his favour. Still, delay in such a country as Afghanistan, and considering the Ameer's normal health, would be dangerous. If Ishak obtains a respite for the winter he will have time to gain allies and to strengthen his position. The arguments which are convincing now in favour of Abdurrahman would, it must be remembered, carry little or no weight if applied to a renewal of the struggle next spring. The situation would have to be surveyed from a new and less satisfactory standpoint.

Ishak's rebellion has already produced one distinct, and it may be added little expected, result in the postponement and probable abandonment of the Durand mission. The first impression was that the Ameer had requested the presence of an English officer in consequence of his cousin's insurrection. Trustworthy information showed that the suggestion dated from an earlier period, and that the points to be discussed related to other matters. It has been postponed now, not from any reluctance on the part of the Indian Government to despatch the mission, but simply because the Ameer has expressed a wish that it should not be sent just at present. The reason of this changed action is clear and satisfactory. Ishak poses as a Mollah and a most orthodox Mussulman, and although Abdurrahman is known as the King of Islam, he does not wish to give his

rival the least handle with the fanatical classes of his countrymen from holding too close communication with us. We admit the validity of the reasoning, and all we ask is that the Ameer will not let the snow accumulate in the passes before asserting his authority in the plain of Balkh.

The Tibetan imbroglio has taken a satisfactory turn. At least Colonel Graham has gained a signal success in the Jelapla Pass, and the Tibetans are in full retreat for the Sanpou. We have now to make up our minds to annex Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley, to bring ourselves into direct contact with Lhasa, and to trust to time to break down the barrier erected by Lama pride and suspicion. We have also to convince China that, while we fully recognize her rights, she must act fairly by us, and that we will stand no nonsense on her part. This seems, we admit, to be a task beyond our diplomatic skill, for in dealing with China we appear to know no mean between bullying and truckling. China is the last Power in the world whose rights should be denied offhand as having no basis; she is also the last Power, whose pretensions once rejected, to whom any concession should be made. In common with all the trading nations, we have our problems in the Ports involving delicate and difficult points. In addition we have now serious matters to arrange in Tibet, Burmah, and the Shan States. It would be well to make an effort towards their solution without further delay.

REVIEWS.

Mediæval Researches.

DR. BRETSCHNEIDER'S fragments towards the knowledge of the geography and history of Central and Western Asia from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century—to which he has given the appropriate title of "*Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*" (Two vols. Trübner and Co.)—testify alike to his powers of research and to the zeal with which he turned to account his opportunities as physician at the Russian Legation in Peking. Thanks to the energy of such Europeans as Marco Polo, Rubruquis, Carpino, and others, we possess a fair acquaintance with the region and the period described in these volumes; but no historical or geographical student will see cause of complaint in their information being supplemented and amplified from the Eastern Asiatic sources which Dr. Bretschneider has in some cases discovered, and in all arranged for the convenience of those engaged in Asiatic researches. Without exception the fragments composing this work are the narratives of Chinese and Mongol travellers who were attracted westwards by the great Tartar irruption which placed Western Asia, as well as China, under the sway of Genghis Khan's descendants. Some of these went as officials or envoys, others as mere travellers. The former are the more important, and the accounts of Chang Chun and Chang Te are really valuable additions to our knowledge. Perhaps Chang Chun's narrative and adventures furnish the most interesting portion of the book. This man was a Taoist priest at the Court of the Kin rulers of China who, receiving an

invitation from Genghis, was obliged to comply, and followed that ruler across Asia to his camp in Afghanistan. Chang Chun met the great conqueror for the first time near the present town of Cabul. The Chinese sage's picture of Afghanistan in the thirteenth century is singularly graphic, and shows how little changed by the lapse of six centuries the tribes of that country have been. Dr. Bretschneider contributes a great number of useful and pertinent notes which add much to the value of these volumes. They possess solid claims on the consideration and gratitude of every student of Asiatic subjects.

Orient and Occident.

THE author of this work wrote, some years ago, a pleasant account of the march to Cabul, and of events in the Afghan capital during what we may call the Sherpur winter. His present volume is more ambitious in that it relates to a journey from India to England *viâ* China, Japan, and the States ["Orient and Occident," by Major-General MITFORD. With Illustrations. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.)]. Of the nineteen chapters into which the book is divided, eight relate to Japan, while the two chapters on China do not take the reader further into the Celestial Land than Hongkong and Canton. We do not know that General Mitford's journey calls for any more extended comment or praise than the statement that it is written in a pleasant and chatty way, and that if there is little in it which has not been seen and said before, he still has a way of giving his own impressions which will win him the approval of the ordinary reader whose chief expectation from books of travel is to be told by an eye-witness of foreign lands and peoples in a clear and agreeable manner. The reader who takes up "Orient and Occident" will certainly not be disappointed in this respect, so far as Japan

and the United States are concerned. A large number of sketches of varying degrees of merit form a feature of the volume.

Through Burmah and Siam.

MR. YOUNGHUSBAND'S account of his tour through Burmah, Siam, and the Shan States, is very similar in character to General Mitford's, but as it deals with a little known region and with races which are now brought into direct political and commercial relations with ourselves, it possesses a more weighty claim on our consideration than even the lucubrations of the other gallant officer in the character of globe-trotter. The title of the work ["Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat, through Burmah, Siam, and the Eastern Shan States," by Lieut. G. T. YOUNGHUSBAND. (W. H. Allen and Co.)] shows its scope and the extent of ground covered by the author. There is no part of Asia in which we are more deeply interested at the present time, and, carefully as Mr. Younghusband steers clear of politics, there is one political reference with which we find ourselves in complete and cordial agreement. It is with regard to the inevitable frontier delimitation between England, China, and Siam, that he writes: "From a British point of view the sooner this settlement is made the better, for every year will see British territory beyond the Salween diminishing. Up to the present time encroachments have been made with impunity, and success begetting boldness, a few years of delay may make the work of a Boundary Commission both difficult and dangerous." Mr. Younghusband's narrative of his life among the Shans and Siamese as well as with the caravan of Yunnan traders is racily written and full of interest. The vagaries of his pony Chang introduce an unexpected source of humour into the description of insignificant villages and savage or semi-civilized peoples. While his

pages are amusing, Mr. Younghusband shows that he realizes that he is dealing with a subject of serious importance, and there is much in his little and unpretentious work to which statesmen in India and Calcutta should pay heed.

General Notices.

AMONG works that our space will not allow of our reviewing at length, we have to acknowledge the receipt of the following, the second edition of Colonel Laurie's "Distinguished Anglo-Indians" (W. H. Allen and Co.), of which the first edition was noticed by us; Allen's invaluable "India List" for July; Dr. James Legge's "Christianity in China" (Trübner and Co.); and Mr. F. C. Danvers's "Bengal: Its Chief Agents and Governors." The last named is a further proof of that gentleman's labours among the manuscript records of the India Office.



* * * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
ED. A. Q. R.



